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ABSTRACT

Papers from a conference on language teaching and testing are grouped in four sections. The first contains a foreword by Dale A. Koike and Antonio R. M. Simoes. The second, on research in second/foreign language teaching, includes the following: "Second Language Learning and Evaluation: From Theory to Classroom Practice" (Sandra J. Savignon); "What Should Portuguese Language Teaching Do About Grammar? Current Trends in the Teaching of Spanish" (Bill Vanpatten); "The Politics of Methodology: Recent Trends and the Teaching of 'Other' Languages" (Diane Musumeci); and "Recent Research on Second Language Learners: Beliefs and Anxiety" (Elaine K. Horwitz). Section three, on reading in a foreign language, presents: "Reading as a Classroom Activity: Theory and Techniques" (Richard Kern, Janet Swaffar, Dolly Young); and "Teaching and Testing an Expository Text" (James F. Lee). The fourth section focuses on Portuguese language teaching for Spanish speakers, with: "Nasal Vowels, the Case of Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish: Description and Classroom Application" (Antonio R. M. Simoes); and "Evaluating Portuguese Performance of Spanish-Speaking Students" (John B. Jenson). A brief text in Portuguese is appended. (MSE)

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Texas Papers in Foreign Language Education

Proceedings of the Conference on Portuguese Language: Teaching and Testing

NEGOTIATING FOR MEANING:
Papers on Foreign Language Teaching and Testing

Editors: Dale A. Koike
Antônio R.M. Simões

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Negotiating for Meaning: Papers on Foreign Language Teaching and Evaluation

A Special Edition of
Texas Papers in Foreign Language Education

Dale A. Koike, University of Texas at Austin
Antônio R.M. Simões, University of Kansas

Editors

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Center for Foreign Language Studies
The University of Texas at Austin

Negotiating for Meaning: Papers on Foreign Language Teaching and Evaluation

Foreword

The first Conference on Portuguese Language: Teaching and Testing was held at the University of Texas at Austin on March 3-4, 1989. Jointly sponsored by the University of Illinois/University of Chicago Joint Center for Latin American and Caribbean Studies, the University of Wisconsin-Madison Iberoamerican Studies Program, the University of Texas at Austin Institute of Latin American Studies, and the U.S. Department of Education, the conference drew well over one hundred and fifty educators and administrators of secondary and post-secondary institutions concerned with foreign language teaching and testing from all over the United States and Latin America.

The motivation for such a conference stemmed from the recognition of a need to consolidate efforts in the Portuguese language teaching field and to exchange ideas on how to improve programs, as well as to update both high school and college teachers in new research in the field of Second/ Foreign Language Acquisition.[1] There had been no other national conference held specifically for Portuguese since the Georgetown University Conference on Portuguese in 1984, and the focus of that conference was on issues in literature, art, language programs, and other aspects, but not on pedagogical concerns. With financial support provided by the host universities, as well as the U.S. Department of Education, who was interested primarily in the development of a national testing instrument for the evaluation of Portuguese language proficiency, the event was made a reality. The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) was contacted to arrange a workshop to train and certify teachers in evaluating the

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[1] Until recently, the terms "second" and "foreign" languages have been used interchangeably. Dissatisfaction with the ambiguity of these terms regarding the *context* in which language learning takes place has prompted researchers to make a distinction between the two. "Second" language (L2) learning refers to the learning of a target language in the country in which it is spoken, e.g., ESL learners in the U.S. "Foreign" language (FL) learning denotes the study of the target language in a country in which the target language is not spoken, as in the case of students of Portuguese in the U.S. The two environments have profound effects on the learning of the target language. In this volume, where the term "second language" is used, it refers to both second and foreign language learning

oral language proficiency of Portuguese students. The workshop, held immediately after the conference, hosted fifteen participants.

Session topics in the conference included "Approaches to Evaluation as an Ongoing Process in the Classroom," "The Use of Video in Teaching Portuguese," "Recent Trends in Second Language Pedagogy," "Proficiency Testing for Portuguese," "Portuguese for Spanish Speakers," "Portuguese Summer Programs and Study Abroad," "Reading Strategies for Portuguese," "Linkages: Portuguese for Special Purposes," and "Computer-assisted Instruction in Portuguese." Several papers from these sessions, as well as that of Sandra Savignon, the keynote speaker, were selected for inclusion in the present volume.

One particularly interesting point of the conference was that presenters representing both the ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines and the "Communicative Competence" approach to foreign language teaching were invited to participate. Certain sessions and presentations were concerned with general concepts of proficiency testing and proficiency-based instruction. The ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines represent a hierarchy of global characterizations of integrated performance in each skill area from Novice to Superior and can be used to assess as well as provide a sequence of steps to structure a program. The Guidelines are not intended to serve as a particular instructional methodology but rather to reflect the interrelationship of the assessment criteria, function or task, content, and accuracy. Each proficiency level represents a changing relationship among the various assessment criteria.

Proponents of the "Communicative Competence" approach to language learning are less concerned with fostering accuracy and instead focus on interpreting and expressing meaning in a given context, ideally, with a native speaker of the target language. They try to encourage the negotiation of meaning between speaker and hearer in the context of real-life communicative needs, and base their ideas and techniques on empirical research in the field of second/foreign language acquisition. Although the two approaches are seemingly irreconcilable on the accuracy issue, presenters of both sides listened to each other at the conference and agreed to try to work together in the development of future materials.

In her keynote address, "Second Language Learning and Evaluation: From Theory to Classroom Practice," Savignon discusses the notion of "communicative competence" in language

teaching a concept for which she is well known. Against a backdrop of theories of language by Chomsky, Halliday, Bloomfield, and Firth, she reviews how theories of language learning have developed to include not only many ideas on grammatical structures but also on discourse functions and features. Savignon points out one of the major areas of controversy within the field today--namely, the current use of the ACTFL Guidelines. She claims that the lack of research to support the use of such an assessment instrument leads one to question its validity. She proposes instead a communicative curriculum design encompassing five functional components: (1) language arts; (2) language for a purpose; (3) personal language use; (4) theatre arts; and (5) beyond the classroom.

VanPatten discusses the role of grammar in teaching for communicative language proficiency in "What Should Portuguese Language Teaching Do About Grammar? Current Trends in the Teaching of Spanish." He examines both the concerns for accuracy based on fear of fossilization, as well as the popular belief that grammar instruction should be abandoned. Dismissing both as untenable on the basis of two basic principles of language acquisition--i.e., the cognitive constraints on the acquisition of structures in the second/foreign language, and the need for meaningful, comprehensible input--VanPatten goes on to outline different stages of acquisition.

Musumeci's paper on "The Politics of Methodology: Recent Trends and the Teaching of 'Other' Languages" makes a general statement on the new interest in what have traditionally been referred to as uncommonly-taught languages (i.e., those other than Spanish, French, and German). She traces the changes that have occurred within the field of foreign language education, largely due to a need for students to have a functional, communicative ability in the foreign language, and the emphasis on the socio-cultural context of language in addition to the study of language itself. She then discusses the problems that face the teachers of uncommonly-taught languages in trying to realize these goals, such as the lack of innovative materials for relatively small numbers of students, and challenges them to meet the demand to produce communicatively competent language students.

In "Recent Research on Second Language Learners: Beliefs and Anxiety," Horwitz reviews many of her observations on the

anxiety factor in foreign language learning and reports on findings from a questionnaire given to university-level foreign language students on the matter. She also discusses some beliefs about language learning found in a survey of student opinions concerning difficulty of language learning, foreign language aptitude, the nature of language learning, learning and communicative strategies, and motivations and expectations. Among her findings are: (a) there is a mismatch between students' expectations about language learning and the realities they encounter in the classroom; and (b) learner beliefs can contribute to anxiety. She concludes with a few suggestions for altering the classroom environment to cope with learner anxiety and beliefs.

The next section on reading includes a joint paper entitled, "Reading as a Classroom Activity: Theory and Techniques," in which Kern, Swaffar, and Young discuss ideas presented in a conference session on reading strategies. After reviewing research findings in second/foreign language reading, such as problems in the use of background knowledge by students approaching the reading task, the authors offer a number of suggestions for pre-reading techniques in Portuguese. One is an instructional sequence identifying and highlighting personalization of the text topic. Another is Stauffer's Directed Reading and Thinking Activity (DRTA), which involves different phases of predicting the outcome of different parts of the text before reading them, and using the reading as a basis for skills development through speaking, listening, and writing activities. The use of visualization activities based on pictures or picture sequences is also described.

Lee's paper, "Teaching and Testing an Expository Text," explores recent trends in non-native reading instruction. He argues against using reading materials for purposes of reviewing vocabulary or grammar, and instead proposes class reading activities and testing formats that gain meaning from the materials themselves. According to Lee, foreign language learners can and should be exposed to the same texts prepared for native speakers. He offers a complete design for reading instruction starting from the selection of material, to its reading and evaluation. He includes a survey of a few textbooks, discussing their strengths and weaknesses, as well as ideas on how to evaluate while reading expository texts.

The last section includes papers dedicated more specifically to problems in teaching the Portuguese language. In "Nasal

Vowels, the Case of Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish: Description and Classroom Application," Simões compares the nasal vowels of Brazilian Portuguese to those of Spanish for the purpose of teaching the former to Spanish-familiar students of Portuguese. Until now, the teaching of Brazilian Portuguese pronunciation has been limited to repetition of minimal pairs of sounds, words, and sentences. This paper attempts to expand on that technique to help students learn nasal vowels through a class design inspired in both structural and communicative competence approaches. The format suggested is not limited to the teaching of nasal vowels, but can be used to teach the pronunciation of other sounds or other linguistic elements.

Jensen, in "Evaluating Portuguese Performance of Spanish-Speaking Students," explores a unique situation faced by instructors of the Portuguese language--i.e., that most students of Portuguese who are familiar with Spanish are able to speak Portuguese after their first lessons. They can convey their messages well despite clear interference from Spanish without causing negative reactions from native speakers. A problem arises in the evaluation of the Portuguese language proficiency of these Spanish-familiar students, and Jensen points out many of the questions that need to be addressed. The solution will need incursions into areas such as sociolinguistics and the establishment of realistic expectations Portuguese teachers can have of their students.

The next step after this conference is to hold another meeting of Portuguese educators to work on specific problems and ideas particular to Portuguese teaching. A basic need we must address immediately is that of motivating students at the secondary school level to study Portuguese. Obviously, students will ask for a rationale for the study of this language. To name just a few of the important reasons, since it is impossible to separate language and culture, the study of Portuguese, a language spoken by 200 million people on five continents, allows one an insight into the Luso-Brazilian culture. Moreover, in a world that is being completely realigned at this moment, with the so-called blocks of nations such as the European, the Asian, and the U.S.-Canadian blocks forming new links, Americans can ill afford to remain monolingual. Growing commercial trade between Brazil and the U.S. in almost all areas--e.g., agriculture, computer technology, aviation--give economic incentives. Moreover, the entire world can no longer ignore Latin America and its problems in areas such as local

economy, environment, and health, all of which point to the need to study the language of Brazil.

In their feedback after the event, the majority of the Portuguese teachers present indicated the following as the biggest concerns facing them today:

(a) Materials, including an intermediate-level textbook and workbook, a text for teaching Portuguese to Spanish-speaking students, elementary readers, video materials, and proficiency-based teaching materials;

(b) A national clearinghouse for the exchange of information on the teaching of Portuguese;

(c) Standardized placement and proficiency testing instruments;

(d) Linkages with other fields of language studies;

(e) Expanded public school certification in Portuguese;

(f) The role of Portuguese in the university.

It is our hope that these issues will be addressed in future meetings.

As editors of this volume, we would like to recognize and thank all the people who helped make these conference proceedings possible. We especially thank Peggy Sharpe Valadares (University of Illinois at Urbana) for first proposing the idea of the conference, and then working as a co-organizer to realize the event. We are grateful to Elizabeth Jackson for all her coordinating efforts before, during, and after the conference, and to the ALCANCE Project of the University of Texas at Austin, co-directed by David Jackson and Fred Ellison, for much-needed financial and moral support. We extend our great appreciation to the contributors of this volume who gave us such fine work, as well as David Hiple of ACTFL who helped edit our description of the Proficiency Guidelines. We also thank Rachel Orduño for patiently and diligently assisting in the preparation of this manuscript, and the editors of *Texas Papers in Foreign Language Education*, especially Elizabeth Mitchell, for cooperating with us. Last, but not least, we thank our colleagues, staff, friends, and families who have loyally supported us throughout the entire project.

Dale A. Koike, University of Texas at Austin
Antônio R.M. Simões, University of Kansas

PART II: RESEARCH IN SECOND/FOREIGN LANGUAGE TEACHING

Second Language Learning and Evaluation: From Theory to Classroom Practice

SANDRA J. SAVIGNON
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Introduction

In marked contrast to the discrete-point grammar focus of audiolingual days, the past twenty years in language teaching have been ones of growing concern with meaning. The importance of meaningful language use at all stages in the acquisition of second or foreign language communicative competence has come to be recognized by researchers and teachers around the world, and many curricular innovations have been developed in response.

Moreover, published reports illustrate well the international scope of such innovations. What has come to be known as communicative language teaching (CLT) is not an American, Canadian, or European phenomenon, but rather a universal effort that has found direction in the interaction of initiatives, both theoretical and applied, in many different contexts. Linguists, methodologists, and materials writers have contributed to this effort, for which it is all the richer (Savignon & Berns, 1984, 1987).

Central to an understanding of communicative language teaching is of course an understanding of the term *communicative competence*. Coined by a sociolinguist (Hymes, 1971) to include knowledge of sociolinguistic rules, or the appropriateness of an utterance, in addition to knowledge of grammar rules, the term has come to be used in language teaching contexts to refer to the ability to negotiate meaning, to successfully combine a knowledge of linguistic, sociolinguistic, and discourse rules in communicative interactions (Savignon, 1972, 1983). The term applies to both oral and written communication, in academic as well as non-academic settings.

The nature and development of the abilities involved continue to be a focus of research and discussion. While theoretical discussions continue, however, methodologists and teachers, responding to learner needs and relying for guidance on research findings and experience gathered to date, have proceeded to develop

teaching strategies and techniques that put an emphasis on meaning. Perhaps the one word that best characterizes these strategies and techniques is *diverse*. Abandoned along with the search for the ideal audiolingual teaching materials has been the search for a universal teaching method. More than a ready-made method of teaching, teachers today need an appreciation both of language as an expression of self and of the ways in which meanings are created and exchanged. They need to understand the language acquisition process as one that involves learners not only intellectually, but physically and psychologically. The balance of features will and should vary from one curriculum to another, depending on the particular context of which it is a part. Where communicative competence, or functional language ability, is a goal, however, successful programs all have one feature in common: they involve the learner in the experience of language as a network of relations between people, things, and events.

A perspective on recent developments in communicative second/foreign language teaching internationally, and within the United States, in particular, can be gained from reviewing (a) the underlying linguistic and second language acquisition (SLA) theories, (b) points of persistent controversy in methods and materials, and (c) a five-component approach to shaping a communicative curriculum, each component including a collection of learning activities based on principles of CLT.

Theories of Language

Most accounts of post-1970 developments in language teaching in the United States cite the attack by Chomsky (1959) on the narrow behavioristic stimulus-response view of language and language learning espoused by Skinner (1957). It was Chomsky who shook the Skinnerian theories of language learning upon which the audiolingual approach to language teaching was based, an approach with which are associated such terms as *stimulus*, *response*, *drill*, *pattern*, *reinforcement*, *mastery*, and *four skills* (*four* because listening, speaking, reading, and writing, in that order, were treated as discrete skills, almost as if they had boundaries around them and could be developed in isolation with little regard for either their complexity or their interrelatedness).

In redirecting American linguistic studies away from its preoccupation with surface structural features and toward a concern

with deep semantic structures, or the way in which sentences are understood, Chomsky helped clear the way for the development of more communicative approaches to second language teaching. But communicative language teaching is much more. Chomsky's focus is on the interpretation of sentences. When he speaks of linguistic competence he is talking about the sentence-level grammatical competence of an ideal speaker-listener of a language. Communicative competence, on the other hand, has to do with more than sentence-level grammatical competence. It has to do with social interaction. Communicative competence has to do with real speaker-listeners who interpret, express, and negotiate meaning in many different settings.

Communication, then, is a negotiation of meaning between speaker and hearer, author and reader. This can be seen readily in the many spontaneous interpersonal transactions in which we participate daily. It is equally true in the case of print, radio, television, and other channels of "mass" communication. A text (written or oral) takes on meaning only as it is interpreted by a reader, listener, or viewer. That interpretation depends, in turn, on the context attributed to the text by the one who interprets it. Why does it exist? To what does it refer? What does it imply? In other words, what is its function?

The functional analysis of language has a long tradition in linguistic inquiry and has been readily available for exploitation in the development of teaching materials, particularly in the European context. Halliday's (1970) systemic-functional theory of language as a form of "doing" rather than "knowing," with its elaboration of three meta-functions (ideational, interpersonal, textual), provides a base for understanding what functions are and how they are realized in a particular language. The Council of Europe "Threshold Level" (van Ek, 1975) syllabus, the Lancaster group task-based curriculum (Candlin, 1987), and the German secondary school classroom series, *Contacts* (Piepho et al., 1978) are among the more noteworthy illustrations of this perspective in second language teaching (for further discussion, see Berns, forthcoming).

The Firthian and Prague School philosophies from which systemic linguistics and the functional study of language derive were eclipsed in the U.S., however, by the American structuralist view. Semantic or meaning approaches to the study of language were disregarded by structuralists such as Bloomfield (1933) who so

strongly influenced second language teaching. For structuralists, attempts to interpret an utterance--to put it in a context with considerations of who, when, why--lay outside the realm of theoretical linguistics proper. Thus it was that formal analysis, the analysis of the surface grammatical structure of language, would provide the basis for the teaching and testing materials developed in the 1950s and 60s and still in widespread use today. For British linguist Firth, meaning was a statement of the function of linguistic items in their context, and the principle underlying all linguistic description. By definition, the meaning of linguistic events was never a given; it was waiting to be discovered through analysis at the contextual, lexical, grammatical, and phonological levels. Of Bloomfield's perspective on language, Firth (1957:15) had the following to say, "...study of meaning is study of grammar. Nothing could be worse than this. It is precisely this confusion of formal grammar with contextual meaning that has been the downfall of all but the most intelligent students of language."

In American methods and materials, at least, the confusion persists. As we shall see, despite widespread profession of functional language ability or communicative competence as a goal, methods and materials often suggest a theory of language that strikingly resembles the behaviorist/structuralist views of Bloomfield.

Second Language Acquisition Research

The development of theoretical insights into the nature of language and language behavior has been accompanied in recent years by direct investigation of the language learning process itself. There was a time in the not-so-distant past, when the answers to questions of how to improve language teaching were thought to be found in extrapolations from linguistics (or language theory) and psychology (or learning theory). The presumption was that together these disciplines would tell us about language learning and ways to improve classroom teaching. To illustrate, Brooks based his influential 1960 book, *Language and Language Learning*, on a stimulus-response reinforcement model of first-language acquisition in which awareness and understanding of language rules were minimized. Furthermore, he advocated the separate introduction of reading and writing activities after the introduction of listening and speaking on the grounds that this procedure paralleled that of first-

language acquisition. Yet he acknowledged (1966:359) that his theory was "largely an act of faith; research to prove the validity of its basic principles is scanty."

Today we are more conscious of the need to base recommendations for teaching on observation of language learning, both inside and outside the classroom. The fields of both first and second language acquisition research expanded rapidly in the 1970s and, not content to look only at sentence-level grammatical structures, researchers are focussing now on the functions and features of discourse.

The need to evaluate the French L2 skills of schoolchildren in Ontario, Canada, led researchers to examine the theoretical bases of communicative competence and to propose four interrelated components as a framework for further research and discussion: *grammatical competence*, *sociolinguistic competence*, *discourse competence*, and *strategic competence* (Canale & Swain, 1980, Canale, 1981). In their description, grammatical competence is linguistic competence in the restricted sense of the term, that is, the ability to manipulate the lexical, morphological, syntactic, and phonological features of a language to form words and sentences. Grammatical competence is not linked to any single theory of grammar, nor does it assume the ability to make explicit the rules of usage; a person demonstrates grammatical competence by *using* a rule, not by stating a rule. Sociolinguistic competence requires an understanding of the social context in which language is used, the roles of the participants, the information they share, and the function of the interaction. Only in a full context of this kind can judgments be made on the appropriateness of a particular utterance. Judgments of appropriateness involve more than knowing what to say in a situation and how to say it; they also involve knowing when to remain silent, or even when to appear *incompetent*. Discourse competence is the ability to create texts, to infer meaning. This involves the values, intentions and purposes of the reader/hearer as well as those of the writer/speaker. Text coherence makes possible the establishment of a global meaning for a paragraph, a conversation, or a book, and in turn allows interpretation of the individual sentences or utterances it includes. A fourth component, strategic competence, is the ability to adapt one's communicative strategies to a variety of changing and often unexpected interpersonal

conditions. Native and nonnative speakers alike make use of a variety of strategies to meet the demands of ongoing communication.

This four-component framework has gained acceptance as a research focus. It has been used, for example, to analyze longitudinal data collected in Canadian immersion programs to provide a better understanding of the nature of learner classroom L2 interaction and of the communicative ability that develops (Lapkin and Swain, 1984; Stern, 1984). Bachman (forthcoming) makes extensive use of the framework in discussions of language assessment. Through the research of such scholars as Beretta (1987), Chaudron (1988), Breen and Candlin (1980), Felix (1981), Krashen (1982), Lightbown (1986), and Long (1980), we are gaining a better understanding of what goes on in classrooms and how this particular learning environment can be modified in the interest of promoting SLA. A recent collection of research papers devoted exclusively to classroom foreign language learning (VanPatten, Dvorak, & Lee, 1987) marks perhaps best of all the coming of age of foreign language classroom learning as a worthy research focus. In October 1989 the American Consortium for Language Teaching and Learning will host an invitational conference on the University of Pennsylvania campus, the first ever to consider "Foreign Language Acquisition Research and the Classroom." The goal of this conference is to take stock of the "cutting edge" of foreign language acquisition research within the context of American college and university classroom settings, with the expectation that this will both generate basic and applied research and inform and redirect the classroom experience.

This seems a fitting point at which to recall that some of the earliest classroom FL research was conducted on the University of Illinois campus (Savignon, 1972). This oft-cited study of adult acquisition of French as a second language focussed on the distinction between grammatical competence and a much broader communicative competence, assessing the value for adult learners of an opportunity to use French for communication from the very beginning of their study. One of the first references to this research data appeared in a paper by a well-known methodologist, Wilga Rivers (1972). The gist of her remarks was consonant with experimental findings, namely, that learners who are not encouraged to go beyond repetition of memorized phrases to take communicative

risks, do not develop the negotiation skills necessary for L2 competence.

At the time, there appeared a startling revision of prevailing L2 learning theory which cautioned against early learner self-expression. That Rivers found support for her views in classroom research data, however, provided an example that other responsible methodologists would follow: recommendations for improving classroom learning are best based, not on extrapolations from linguistic or psychological theory, but on systematic observation of classroom learners.

In the intervening years a new research perspective has developed. To meet its many demands, a new generation of FL researchers and methodologists is pursuing advanced study, not only in the language and culture they teach, but in linguistic, psycholinguistic, and psychometric concepts related to language and language learning. And support for research-oriented programs in FL learning/teaching is increasing. The University of Texas at Austin Foreign Language Education Center has an established record of excellence in this area. More recently, the University of Illinois multidisciplinary SLATE (Second Language Acquisition and Teacher Education) doctoral program, has brought together teachers, methodologists, and researchers from the departments of English as an International Language, French, German, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese, linguistics, psychology, and education. This year we are celebrating the fifth anniversary of its official recognition by the Graduate College. Opportunities for publishing research findings are also increasing. In addition to the major journals of second language acquisition and applied linguistics, several language-specific journals now include discussions of SLA theory and research findings. Most important, perhaps, FL departments around the country advertise openings for methodologists with a research interest in SLA.

Points of Controversy

While SLA research has brought a new interest in teaching materials and methodologies to many in the American context, there remain those who, impatient with efforts to define constructs, to elaborate theories, and to build a research program, appear ready to accept simple solutions to complex problems. The current debate within the American FL profession regarding the appropriacy of the Proficiency Guidelines developed and widely promoted by the

American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) is a case in point. Discussion focusses on the need to define communicative competence and to demonstrate the construct validity of tests that purport to measure functional language ability.

Theorists and practitioners alike have criticized the guidelines, both as a measure of communicative ability and as a basis for methods and materials development. Thanks to an infusion of funds from the U. S. Department of Education, however, the "proficiency movement," as it has come to be known, has gathered an unfortunate momentum which jeopardizes the integrity of the American foreign language teaching profession and threatens to alienate it from the mainstream of L2 methods development. Kramsch (1986) has summarized the inappropriateness of their neo-behavioristic perspective for American school programs:

> ...the oversimplified view on human interactions taken by the proficiency movement can impair and even prevent the attainment of true interactional competence within a cross-cultural framework and jeopardize our chances of contributing to international understanding. The suggested proficiency-oriented ACTFL/ETS goals differ from interactional goals on three accounts: (1) they focus on behavioral functions rather than on conceptual notional development; (2) they have a static rather than a dynamic view of content; (3) they emphasize accuracy to the detriment of discourse aptitude.

Spolsky (1986), citing the complexity and diversity of L2 ability, sees "serious problems with any approach that hopes to develop a simple set of common standards such as those that form the base of the guidelines developed by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. The ACTFL Guidelines assume that it is possible to set up a single monodimensional scale on which the appropriate behaviors can be ranked."

Lee and Musumeci (1988a, 1988b) have looked at the acquisition model underlying the ACTFL Guidelines for reading and have contested its validity. They conclude that "the academic community faces a situation that cries out for further discussion, clarification, and research."

Looking at the guidelines from the practical perspective of one involved in large-scale college testing programs, Lange

(University of Minnesota) has observed that the ACTFL Guidelines are an expedient means to resolve a problem, namely the creation of a testing program to meet a college language requirement. However, he cites a number of unresolved issues that make this definition of proficiency problematic for both teaching and testing in the higher education context. They include the appropriacy of an academic context of guidelines based on a system developed for government employees, initially in the Department of State but later expanded to include military and security agencies; the absence of data to support the Guidelines despite repeated requests that if such exist they be released; the method of analogizing the oral guidelines to the development of those for listening, writing, and reading, which, in his words, "provides perplexities for the entire system."

Yet the Guidelines continue to be promoted by ACTFL as a universally valid measure of L2 ability (ACTFL, 1986, emphasis added):

> The 1986 proficiency guidelines represent a hierarchy of global characterizations of integrated performance in speaking, listening, reading, and writing...each level subsumes all previous levels, moving from simple to complex in an "all-before-and-more" fashion... Because these guidelines identify stages of proficiency, as opposed to achievement, they are not intended to measure what an individual has achieved through specific classroom instruction but rather to allow assessment of what an individual can and cannot do, *regardless of where, when, or how the language has been learned or acquired.*

The accompanying claim that the guidelines are "not based on a particular linguistic theory or pedagogical method" is misleading; persons who have been involved in writing the guidelines are indeed prescribing methods and materials for "proficiency." Support of the Guidelines as a standard of L2 competence has come from the U. S. Department of Defense Language Institute, Educational Testing Service, and ACTFL, three organizations that have been involved in test development, sales, and promotion. Individuals have been involved in the publication of classroom textbooks that claim to be "proficiency-based." And whether or not they endorse them, textbook writers and publishers generally feel market pressure to

adopt ACTFL Guidelines terminology and test formats. Albert Valdman, a distinguished linguist and editor of *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*, sums up the situation as follows:

> Because it represents an attempt to modify the nature of the FL curriculum in the direction of the acquisition of functional language skills, the so-called Proficiency Movement should have attracted the attention of applied linguists working in the area of second language acquisition (SLA) research. Unfortunately, this has not been the case. Few SLA specialists have considered research questions surrounding the OPI (Oral Proficiency Interview), such as how the various linguistic levels (phonology, morphosyntax, lexicon, discourse organization, etc.) contribute to relative levels of communicative ability. Furthermore, those involved in adapting the OPI to the college and high school levels have not shown any profound awareness of current research directions in SLA, particularly research devoted to the specific type of learning the OPI attempts to gauge. ...As a result, it is fair to say that although the OPI may be experientially based, its theoretical underpinnings are shaky and its empirical support, scanty. There is no denying that a reliable and valid standardized instrument for assessing FL proficiency is highly desirable... However, the FL teaching profession is incurring a high risk if it prematurely institutionalizes an assessment instrument inadequately validated and lacking theoretical support (Valdman, 1988: 121-122).

I would simply add that the attendant disregard for scholarship does much to undermine efforts to encourage dispassionate consideration of SLA research data. Rather, it promotes a persistent parochialism within the profession that leaves it prey to what Maley (1984), in an affectionate spoof of language teaching ideologies, has called, "I got religion: evangelism in second language teaching." Methods are promoted, their virtues extolled, with a fervor that discourages critical examination or even explanation. One is asked simply to believe.

Communicative Curriculum Design

As was noted above, the elaboration of new theories of language and the language learning process, along with demands of learners and program sponsors for curricula that address real-life communicative needs, has led to many initiatives in teaching methods and materials. To qualify as communicative, these methods and materials must involve learners in the dynamic and interactive process of communication. A communicative classroom allows learners to experience language as well as to analyze it. Second language acquisition research has documented the importance of communication experience in the development of communicative competence. Most effective are a combination of experiences that involve the learner in both a physical and psychological sense as well as in an intellectual sense. That is to say, second language experiences should involve the whole learner. They should be affective and physical as well as cognitive.

In an effort to represent the affective, physical, and cognitive facets of L2 learning and to characterize the diversity of activities that have their place in today's programs, I have proposed five components of a communicative curriculum (Savignon, 1983): language arts, language for a purpose, personal language use, theatre arts, and beyond the classroom. Each component represents a cluster of activities that corresponds to a different facet of the language learning process. The use of the term *component* to categorize these activities or experiences seems particularly appropriate in that it avoids any suggestion of sequence or level. Experimentation with communicative teaching methods has shown that all five components can be profitably blended at all stages of instruction. This blending is not only desirable, it is inevitable inasmuch as the components overlap. No language curriculum, any more that the language competence it promotes, should be thought of as neatly divisible into separate tasks. The organization of learning activities into these components is intended not to sequence a program but rather to highlight the range of options available in curriculum planning and to suggest ways in which their very interrelatedness can be maximized for the learner.

Language Arts

If language arts is the first component on the list, it is because it represents what language teachers do best--most often because it is

all they have been taught to do. Language arts focusses on rules of usage and provides explanation of how language works.

Language analysis, like a language syllabus, may be structural or functional. Although the former is more familiar to teachers and learners, the latter has the virtue of including semantics and sociolinguistic rules of use. A language arts component can include both kinds of analyses. Language arts includes attention to rules of language and language behavior along with systematic practice in their application. This requires stepping back momentarily from communication in order to look at the forms that that particular communication is taking.

Language for a Purpose

Language analysis contrasts with language experience, the use of language for a real and immediate communicative purpose. No matter how much effort is put into doing exercises that "contextualize" discrete points of sentence-level grammar--things like verb endings, use of prepositions, position of adjectives, etc.--successful completion of such exercises is no substitute for language use.

The most stunning examples of language for a purpose are the immersion programs that have emerged in elementary schools across the United States. In these programs the focus is not on language instruction at all but on providing occasions for language use through the establishment of Spanish, French, or German as the medium of instruction in the general curriculum. In many cases these programs owe their inspiration and structure to the successful experience with immersion programs in Canada, programs whose benefits have been well documented. Short of total immersion is the opportunity within whatever time is allotted the language program to use the L2 in the study of some related topic, e.g. history, social studies, literature. Teachers also should provide learners with the means to meet rudimentary classroom communication needs from the very beginning of instruction. They need to know how to say things like "I don't understand," "Please repeat," "What is the word for...?" As they progress, more and more of the activities in the language arts and other components of the curriculum can take place in the L2, thus providing a maximum amount of classroom discourse.

My Language is Me

Much has been written about personalized L2 use. A source of inspiration for many of the personalized activities now being recommended for language classrooms are the exercises in values clarification designed for school curricula in general. These exercises are used to help learners both to get to know their classmates and to use the language class to explore their own, often culturally determined, attitudes and values. Their goal is *not* to teach a particular set of values or to evaluate the values held by individual learners. Values clarification is concerned not with the content of individual values but with the process of valuing, that is, with the discovery of values.

Although language arts activities provide an appropriate context for attention to formal accuracy, personal language use does not. A learner's description of his or her anxiety in the L2 classroom should be met with understanding and reassurance, not with the overt correction of pronunciation or verb tense. Most teachers know this and will intuitively focus on meaning rather than on form as learners express their opinions or experiences. Yet textbooks or tests that repeatedly emphasize structural accuracy may cause teachers to feel guilty about their inattention to learner errors on these occasions. An understanding of the importance of opportunities for self-expression and of the ways in which a distinction can be made in a curriculum between language arts and "my language is me" should give them the support they need to encourage learner self-expression.

You Be, I'll Be: Theatre Arts

Fantasy and play-acting are a natural and important part of growing up. Make-believe and the familiar "you be, I'll be" improvisations of which children are so fond are routes to self-discovery and growth. They allow young learners to experiment, to try things out--like hats and wigs, moods and postures, gestures and words. As occasions for language use, role playing and the many related activities that constitute theatre arts are likewise a natural component of second language learning. They allow learners to experiment with the roles they play or will play in real life.

Smith (1984), a professionally trained actor and a teacher of English as a second language, stresses that when teachers do role playing, dialogue work, improvisation, scene study, or play production in language classes, they need first to set up the situation.

They cannot just ask the learners to stand up and act. Teachers must prepare learners by providing them with the tools they need to act, that is to observe, relate, experiment, and create in a second language. The theatre arts component of a second language curriculum includes the following activities:

(1) ensemble-building activities involving listening, observation, movement, and games;
(2) pantomime - the use of gestures and facial expression to convey meaning;
(3) unscripted role playing; for example, *commedia dell'arte* improvisations where a situation is described to the actors who then create their own lines as they go along;
(4) simulations, a more open-ended form of unscripted role playing;
(5) scripted role playing; that is, the use of a prepared script to interpret characters in a dialogue, skit, or play.

Many efforts to include theatre arts, games and other interaction activities fail because teachers have not fully anticipated the possible outcomes, for example, not enough time, too much noise, confusion about procedure, too slow a pace to sustain learner interest. A class cannot just "play a game." Nor should simulations, role playing, and other opportunities for interaction be saved for rainy days or the last few minutes of the class period. To be effective, communicative activities must constitute an integral part of the classroom program.

Beyond the Classroom

Regardless of the variety of communicative activities in the classroom, their purpose remains to prepare learners for the second language world beyond, a world on which learners will depend for the development and maintenance of their communicative competence once classes are over. The classroom is but a rehearsal. The strength of a foreign or second language curriculum depends ultimately on the extent to which it reaches out to the world around it.

Putting It All Together

How is it all put together? Is there an optimum combination of language arts, personal language use, language for a purpose, theatre arts, and beyond the classroom? These questions must be answered by individual language teachers and administrators for their learners and the goals they have set for their programs. Central to a

discussion of the optimum balance of activities in an instructional program is, of course, an understanding of communication and, thus, of communicative language use. The problem at present is that some of the activities being introduced as communicative are not communicative at all but structure drills in disguise. Grammar often remains the hidden agenda.

The preceding elaboration of five components has been intended to sort out the analytical activities associated with sentence-level grammatical form (language arts) and to give greater attention to the experiences (language for a purpose, personal language use, theatre arts, beyond the classroom) that promote the development of communicative competence. The proper balance of analytical and experiential activities in the classroom will depend on the age of the learners as well as on the learning context and program resources. However, a clear understanding of the nature of each kind of activity may be the first step in the elaboration of a communicative curriculum. Such a curriculum can go a long way toward defining not only what foreign language programs should teach but, more importantly, *how* they should teach it.

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What Should Portuguese Language Teaching Do About Grammar? Current Trends in the Teaching of Spanish

BILL VANPATTEN
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Introduction

No issue in language teaching is more confusing and confounding than the role of grammar[1] in teaching for communicative language proficiency. For some time, twentieth-century language teaching has been dominated by the assumption that language = grammar, that language teaching is the inculcating of grammatical competence in the learner, a competence from which all other competences emerge or at least depend. In addition, most foreign language programs at the college level are modelled upon the following: teach "all" of the grammar the first year; review all of the grammar the second year; review and expand on all of the grammar the third year. But these beliefs and practices have been seriously undermined in the last fifteen years. First, we have seen the rise of second language acquisition (SLA) as a field of study. Paralleling first language acquisition, SLA attempts to adequately describe, explain, and predict the processes and outcomes of non-primary language acquisition. SLA is a field of empirical study and theory building and has provided substantial research evidence that there are constraints on the acquisition of grammar. In addition, SLA has posited an important role for meaningful input and interaction with input for the development of successful second language abilities. Second, Communicative Language Teaching (CLT) has increased our awareness of the importance of language as an informational and social activity. As such, it has emphasized that classroom language acquisition should be meaning-based and learner-centered. Together, SLA research and CLT have lead some to decentralize the role of grammar in the classroom and in some cases to abandon the explicit teaching of grammar, especially during classtime.

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[1] Grammar is used in this paper in its everyday teaching sense, i.e., those linguistic features of the language that are presented and practiced in textbooks. Unlike others (e.g., Garrett, 1986), I am not offering some new conceptualization of grammar and therefore my comments apply only to grammar as it is viewed by the majority of the language teaching professionals.

Just at the time when such suggestions are being made, we see a concurrent call to place emphasis on linguistic accuracy from the beginning of language learning. Certain FL professionals have claimed that a de-emphasis or abandonment of grammar teaching (and especially a lack of concern for linguistic accuracy) in the early stages of learning leads to fossilization or arrested development. These claims have led some to suggest that CLT must structure its activities around grammatical features in order to practice them or that learners should first master the grammatical elements of the language before engaging in communicative enterprises with the language.

Of course, the complete abandonment of explicit instruction and practice of grammatical features of the language and likewise the insistence that grammatical features must somehow be mastered before learners should attempt communication represent extreme ends of a continuum. In the present paper, I will briefly discuss the two extreme positions on the explicit teaching and practice of grammar and will discuss why *both* are untenable. Then I will outline a stage approach to instruction that is derived from both current research and practical concerns. I will conclude my presentation with a sketch of how grammar instruction fits into present day CLT (I assume the goal of communicative language proficiency for foreign language instruction for this discussion).

Linguistic Accuracy From the Beginning

A concern for linguistic accuracy from the beginning of instruction, which in practical terms means the explicit presentation and subsequent practice of isolated grammatical features of the language and correction of student errors, is predicated upon the notion of fossilization. The term *fossilization* suggests arrested development of the linguistic system. When a learner's language fossilizes, it can no longer progress, i.e., all development ceases. Most of current day discussion of fossilization is traceable to Higgs and Clifford's (1982) now infamous description of the "terminal 2+" but the term is original to Selinker (1972). Higgs and Clifford's claim is that unbridled communication in the early stages of acquisition leads learners to fossilize since their communicative needs are met by their non-native linguistic systems.

There are a great many problems in using Higgs and Clifford's discussion as evidence to support a focus on linguistic

accuracy in the early stages of learning, not the least of which is that Higgs and Clifford's data are not empirical in any sense of the word (see VanPatten, 1986 for some discussion, as well as Hammond, 1988). Their data are experiential and biased and lack empirical validity. My review of the fossilization question (VanPatten, 1988) has led me to a different conclusion: that we have yet to prove that fossilization exists (i.e., "How long do you have to observe someone's output before concluding that the linguistic system is fossilized?"). Instead, as my data indicate, it is more accurate to claim that language learners may reach *plateaus* and that some plateaus may be more protracted than others. Even if we assume that fossilization does exist, the processes which bring it about may have more to do with the social-cultural context of language acquisition as well as questions of literacy rather than unbridled communication from the beginning. The truth of the matter is, we do not yet know why people plateau during language acquisition. Two learners in the same set of circumstances could lead to different outcomes. Furthermore, as Selinker suggested in 1972, probably 95% of all language learners fossilize in some way or another. The fear of fossilization, or "fossilophobia" as I call it, is not an adequate reason for emphasizing linguistic accuracy from the beginning (see VanPatten, 1986a and 1988 for more detailed discussion of these issues).

A more important argument against the extreme position of insisting on linguistic accuracy from the beginning is the research on how morphological and syntactic structures are acquired by language learners. Grammar is not acquired and made available for language use simply because it is presented and practiced (every teacher has experienced this, I think). What is clear is that linguistic structure is acquired in piecemeal fashion, that even verb and pronoun paradigms are acquired in piecemeal fashion, that there are stages of acquisition of syntax, that certain things must precede others, and that classroom learners take to the task of language acquisition many of the same processes that non-classroom and child first language acquirers do (VanPatten, 1986b). The research offers the following observation about the acquisition of grammatical features:

> *Observation A. Second language acquisition, whose product is not necessarily the same as that of first*

> *language acquisition, is nonetheless constrained by the same factors that influence first language acquisition. These include Universal Grammar (UG), communicative value, frequency in input, properties of information processing and certain operating principles (or processing strategies).*

An explication of this observation requires the understanding of at least eight corollaries which are listed here. Representative but not exhaustive evidence is cited and due to space limitations, I will only offer a brief discussion of each (see, however, VanPatten, in progress).

> *Corollary 1. Language learners cannot "bypass" what the language processor does to internalize formal features of the L2 (Lightbown, 1985; VanPatten, 1987b). At best, acquisition can be speeded up (Ellis, 1983, 1985; Pienemann, 1985, 1987).*

> *Corollary 2. Learners cannot reorder steps and stages in language acquisition and cannot move to another stage unless certain processing pre-requisites have been fulfilled (Pienemann, 1985, 1987; Turner, 1979; Schumann, 1979; Ellis, 1983, 1985).*

> *Corollary 3. When confronted with distorted, unnatural, or non-communicative input, the language processor makes temporary adjustments until natural language processing can be resumed (Lightbown, 1983, 1985).*

Taken together, these three corollaries suggest that features of language are not acquired in the order in which they are presented and practiced. More importantly, the explicit teaching and intense drilling of isolated features of the language does not benefit the long term process of acquisition. At best, these activities result in only

short term benefits (e.g., knowing an item for a test).[2] Learners must proceed along certain development paths as they internalize the language and teachers can do little to circumvent these paths.

> *Corollary 4. Much of L2 output can be characterized by the abundant use of routines, prefabricated patterns and chunks in addition to rule governed "'syntactic-like" behavior (Wong-Fillmore, 1976; Krashen, 1981; Ventriglia, 1982; VanPatten, 1986b and in press; Nattinger, 1987).*

Corollary 4 claims that not all of second language output is the result of "knowing" a rule. Some of speech output is chunk-like in nature where an entire utterance or large piece of an utterance has been acquired by the learner but does not have "internal structure" (e.g., a learner may not have *cómo + se + dice* generated by rules of language but instead has *comosedice* as one big lexical item which is accessed and used as one unit).

> *Corollary 5. Within given syntactic and discourse domains, forms which have high communicative (referential and social) value will always be acquired before those with little or no communicative value (VanPatten, 1984, 1985).*

Corollary 5 distinguishes at least two types of linguistic features: those features of language that carry meaning for the learner (e.g., "-ing" for progressive aspect in English, final stressed vowels as indicators of past tense in Spanish), and those that do not (e.g., redundant third person "-s" in English, adjective agreement in Spanish). The claim is that forms of the first type are almost always acquired before the latter (ceteris paribus).

> *Corollary 6. Frequency in the input will determine when a form/feature is acquired or emerges in*

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[2] There is additional evidence that the absence of mechanical practice (i.e., "drilling") does not harm the communicative output of learners. See Dvorak (1977 and forthcoming).

output, only after communicative value is considered (VanPatten, same as above as well as 1989).

Corollary 6 complements Corollary 5. Given two forms that are of equal communicative value to the learner, the more frequent will be acquired before the less frequent. Thus, *ser* is acquired before *estar*. However, given a feature A that has communicative value and a feature B that does not, B will not be acquired before A even if B is more frequent. Thus, preterit forms are acquired and used more consistently before adjective agreement is under output control.

Corollary 7. Language acquisition also tends to progress from unmarked to marked elements, defined in a typological sense (summarized in Hyltenstam, 1987).[3]

In language typology, a structure X is less marked relative to Y if X is more frequently distributed and more typical in natural languages. As an example, of the word orders SVO, SOV and VSO (there are others), SVO is the most frequent in the world's languages and is considered less marked. Regarding the formation of interrogatives for yes-no answers, rising intonation is much more common than subject-verb inversion in natural language and is therefore posited as less marked (or unmarked, in this case). In language acquisition, the unmarked or less marked forms are easier to acquire than the more marked forms and it is the unmarked forms that emerge first in learner output.

Corollary 8. Psycholinguistic transfer (as opposed to communicative transfer--see VanPatten, 1986b) is constrained by all of the above (Zobl, 1980; Andersen, 1983; VanPatten, 1987b; Eckman 1977; Flynn 1987, and others).

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[3] Claims have been made about markedness within learnability theory and current linguistic theory, e.g., that learners tend to set unmarked parameters before marked parameters. However, there is some debate on what is marked and unmarked within this framework; Hyams (1986) and White (1987) have argued that markedness needs to be more clearly defined and tested before claims are made about SLA. Therefore, I refrain from making explicit claims about markedness within a UG framework.

Corollary 8 puts to rest the simplistic notion of transfer of "first language habits." The influence of the first language on second language is limited in that transfer cannot "violate" the natural properties of acquisition. As one example, if a learner's first language has a marked rule, but the second language has an unmarked rule, transfer of the first language rule is blocked. However, if the first language has an unmarked rule but the second language has a corresponding marked rule, the first language rule will most likely transfer.

Observation A and its corollaries suggest that an unchecked "they-must-master-all-the-grammar-before-attempting-to-communicate" approach to the classroom is difficult to justify for it runs counter to how grammatical structure is acquired. In addition, an insistence on linguistic accuracy and error correction is equally bad pedagogy (for a more complete discussion of these issues, see VanPatten, 1988 and VanPatten, in progress). A focus on form must consider how formal features of language are acquired in addition to any constraints on acquisition.

The Abandonment of Grammatical Instruction

Now, let us ask the question of whether or not the opposing position on the continuum is tenable, i.e., should language teaching abandon the explicit teaching and practice of grammar based on the above outlined constraints? A naïve answer would be "Well, if grammar teaching doesn't do what it is supposed to do, what good is it?" and indeed some are lead to a complete abandonment of grammatical instruction. However, this, too, is untenable for certain reasons. First, the fact that current and/or traditional grammar approaches are not fruitful does not mean that others could not be (this is what we will outline later). But more importantly, there is at least some evidence that rate of acquisition of grammatical features can be speeded up (see Corollary 1 under Observation A), *but not in the early stages of acquisition*. That is, once a certain threshold is reached, explicit instruction and practice in grammar may help speed up the processes that learners use to internalize grammatical features and make them available for use. Apparently, the earliest stages of acquisition may not even be characterized by access to a "rule" system as we know it but by some other system that involves either general cognitive capacities or "non-linguistic" rules for speech production (see, for example, Peters, 1983; Wong-Fillmore, 1976;

Pienemann & Johnston, 1985; and VanPatten, in press). But there are constraints on using this information for making determinations about the teaching of grammar. That is, this discussion should not be translated merely into "wait until they have acquired a little and *then* we'll teach them all the grammmar and push them to master it." The quantity and quality of a focus on grammatical form in instruction is constrained at all stages of acquisition, not just in the earliest stages. [4]

Before going on to examine some suggestions for how grammar fits into a communicative approach, it is necessary to examine one more observation derived from second language research. This observation involves the role of meaningful input.

> *Observation B. For successful language acquisition, learners benefit by access to input which is communicatively and/or meaningfully oriented and comprehensible in nature (Krashen, 1982, 1985; Hatch, 1983; Long, 1981, and many others).* [5]

Like Observation A, Observation B is followed by a set of corollaries that help to expand on it. These are presented below. Unlike the corollaries that follow Observation A, these do not require further explanation.

> *Corollary 1. Learners cannot just receive input, they must interact with it to maximize the acquisition process(es). The type of appropriate and/or adequate interaction will change as the learner's ability with*

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[4] There is some claim that "instruction makes a difference," the most oft cited being Long (1983). Space precludes a detailed discussion of this issue and the reader is referred to VanPatten (1988) for a critical look at Long's review.

[5] As is clear from the set of corollaries that follow, this principle should not be construed as equivalent to Krashen's Input Hypothesis. Rather, I mean that the learner cannot make use of language that is incomprehensible in that form-meaning relationships cannot be established by the language processor. In addition, language which is devoid of communicative and social value (e.g., drills and grammar practice), while comprehensible, is not good input as the learner may not process the language deeply enough for it to become available to the language processor as intake (see Stevick, 1976; Hatch, 1983; Ellis, 1985; and most of the child L1 literature).

the L2 develops (Long, 1981; Swain, 1985, 1987; Terrell, 1987).

Corollary 2. Interaction with written input is crucial if learners are to avoid an extended plateauing phenomenon and if they are to broaden their discoursal skills (both written and oral) (Krashen, 1984; Harley & Swain, 1984; Swain, 1987; VanPatten, 1988).

Corollary 3. For early stage and early intermediate learners, input must not only be comprehensible, it must be comprehended with ease (VanPatten, 1989).

Corollary 4. By extension, degree and quality of language acquisition is partially determined by degree and quality of input received (Wells, 1985; Harley & Swain, 1984; McLaughlin, 1987; Eubank, 1987; Kaplan, 1987).

Any pedagogical considerations about instruction in grammar then must recognize the relatively important role that meaningful input plays in the determination of a learner's developing linguistic system; that is, *a language teaching approach, regardless of what it does about grammar, must also provide exposure to meaningful input and opportunities to interact with the input.*[6]

An Outline for Grammar Instruction: A Stage Approach

Given this admittedly brief discussion of the extreme positions on grammar instruction, what should be done with grammar in the foreign language classroom? Perhaps we should approach the question of a focus on grammatical form by asking what might be psycholinguistically appropriate at various stages of acquisition, that is, what learners can *make use of* at each stage of acquisition. First, we can broadly define the acquisition of

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[6] In VanPatten (in progress), I present not two but five working principles for examining what we do in language teaching vis à vis how language seems to be acquired. Not presented in this paper is the research on feedback, teacher-generated error correction, and interaction with speakers of the language.

grammatical structure as consisting of three stages: early, mid, and late or advanced:

early > mid > advanced

As learners move from stage to stage, they add and drop certain processing and organizing strategies for getting and using language. In order to be an advanced learner, a person must have gone through the stages of being an early and a mid learner, i.e., *a learner cannot begin with the processing strategies that advanced learners use.*

Acknowledging the fact that there is no such thing as a clear-cut set of demarcation lines for progressing from one stage to the next, we might define early stage learning as heavily lexical. That is, it is the learner's job to get words to express meaning and to find ways to combine these words together to express propositions. The learner's input processing mechanism, then, is dominated by a search for lexical items, chunks and routines (i.e., unanalyzed phrases such as *megusta* and *yocreoque* --see VanPatten, 1986b as well as VanPatten, in press).

Mid-stage acquisition does not abandon lexical acquisition (people are always learning words and chunks of language), but is clearly distinguishable from early stage by incorporating the processing of morphology and some syntactic elements that are core features of the language. It is here that we see things such as morphemes of tense, aspect and other features of language emerge in the learner's speech.

Advanced stages of acquisition build upon previous stages but include the acquisition of non-meaningful and purely grammatical features of the language, e.g., adjective agreement in Spanish, obligatory uses of the subjunctive in most cases. In addition, within given syntactic domains, we see the acquisition of the more marked features of the language. It generally takes learners considerable time to reach the advanced level of acquisition. Normally, most learners cannot be considered advanced until they have returned from a year of study abroad.

What this admittedly sketchy outline of stages of acquisition suggests is that it is probably not beneficial to waste good classtime in the early stages on the practicing of the more difficult and marked elements of a language if the goal of the class is to develop some sort of communicative language proficiency. Instead, the early stage curriculum should consist mainly (but not exclusively) of providing

the learner with meaningful input and having the learner interact with the input in a meaningful way.[7] Grammar instruction here might consist of three kinds: (1) reference grammar for outside the class that students may consult; (2) grammar as "consciousness raising" or "language appreciation;" and (3) grammar instruction that is meaning-based and can help to make input comprehensible. In short, mastery and acquisition of grammatical features are not expected; we are simply making learners aware of the language's grammatical system.

As learners enter the intermediate stage of acquisition, they are producing strings of language. It is at this point that a very focussed instruction and feedback might occur depending on individual learner's developing linguistic systems and the particular goals of a class. In previous work (VanPatten, 1987a), I have advocated content language learning for intermediate learners. Content language learning involves studying a particular subject in the second language language, e.g., geography, to name a content curriculum that I have recently developed at the University of Illinois. The studying of a particular subject area and the specific language tasks that an instructor decides are appropriate for that course then dictate to what features of the language the learner might focus attention.

For example, in our geography course, we specified that the students must be able to describe the geography of a given region and explain how certain things came to be, e.g., demographic features. Immediately evident is that learners need to pay attention to present tense verb forms, past tense verb forms, and certain third person constructions (e.g., passives). These are what was built into explicit oral practice with the students. We also decided that students would engage in process writing tasks that utilized the following discourse structures: describing, narrating, and comparing

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[7] Some erroneously conclude that providing learners with meaningful input means to "talk at the learner." Nothing could be further from the truth. Interacting with input means that learners respond to the input and do something with it either verbally or non-verbally, whatever resources are available to them. In short, learners are not talked at but are talked with. In VanPatten (forthcoming), I provide a detailed explanation with examples of the use of input in an early stage curriculum along with how the early stage curriculum differs from intermediate as well as advanced level curricula.

and contrasting. Once again, specific linguistic features suggested themselves and learners were instructed in these areas.

The advanced stage is marked by increasing amounts of language use as learners attempt more complex discourse. At this stage, I would suggest a "polishing up" approach to grammar and would not hesitate to suggest that the old-fashioned advanced grammar review typically done during the third or fourth year might even be appropriate. However, more appropriate grammatical instruction would build consistent grammar instruction and feedback into advanced content learning, i.e., into literature, culture and special track courses. Thus, French for commerce, Spanish for medical usage, and courses on Latin American literature would all work on specific skills and the necessary grammar related to their own domains. Since learners have much greater oral productive ability at this point, overt grammar teaching and practice of the more marked elements of the language make sense for these features can be "mapped" onto an established linguistic system.

Important to point out is the following: that such a curriculum also contains a lot of written input, i.e., material for learners to read. Earlier I mentioned that meaningful input has been posited as having an important role in language acquisition. In other words, learners who get masses of meaningful and comprehensible input are more successful language learners than those who do not. However, we have not discussed the possible role of written input within this context and several points deserve mention here. The first is that with written input, classroom learners (and non-classroom learners who try to learn to read in the L2) control the rate at which they process the language. Processing rate is an important variable in L2 acquisition that is often overlooked. While the provision of oral input in the classroom (due to much of the non-negotiated aspect of classroom talk) may be too slow for some learners, too fast for others, and just right for a few, with little chance to hear again or get details from the message, written input is adjustable for every learner. That which was missed by the learner who processes input at a slower pace than another, can be seen again (and again), thus maximizing the attention that can be paid to language. More importantly, however, is that written input helps learners to segment and extract features from the input that may not be so clear from oral input. Research from immersion data in Canada, for example, strongly suggests that late immersion students

who learn to read French at the same time they begin its acquisition do not make the same errors and progress faster than regular immersion students who begin acquisition with little or no written texts.

Just as important, if not more so than processing, is that written input provides a much broader input base for the development of communicative competence. Written input generally provides discourse markers and connectors which are often absent in oral language. Written input offers a greater vocabulary range than that which can be found in the typical classroom. And depending on the types of texts to which learners have access in the classroom, written input contains sociolinguistic features of language often absent in classroom talk.

What all this means is that the still prevalent belief among many foreign language teachers that written texts serve to reinforce linguistic structures and vocabulary presented in a lesson is a myopic view of the potential of reading in any curriculum. Learners should not have texts that reinforce material; they should have texts that go *beyond* explicitly learned material. Learners should be given texts with which they can interact meaningfully, as intelligent readers, and they should be the kinds of texts that learners might encounter in their everyday lives (for more discussion of stages of curriculum, the reader is referred to VanPatten, 1987a and forthcoming).

Conclusion

What I have outlined in this paper includes a call to examine the language teaching curriculum in a more global sense by recognizing that acquisition is stage-like. Within a stage approach to the curriculum, the early stage treats grammar instruction as one of the following: (1) referential material, (2) consciousness raising/language arts appreciation, and (3) grammar that might aid comprehension. Learners are not held responsible for acquisition in the common sense of "mastery." As the learners themselves begin to produce strings, then some focus on output with grammar tied to meaningful tasks is warranted. Task, goal, and individual differences dictate what grammar for whom. In the more advanced stages, there is substantial treatment of grammar, especially the more marked and less salient features of the linguistic system that tend to be late acquired by the learner and may be infrequent in oral input.

Advanced grammar activities tied to content in advanced courses would be appropriate.

Such a view of grammar teaching departs significantly from what is most typically practiced and admittedly, it is only my suggestion of how grammar instruction fits into CLT in addition to how I view CLT (VanPatten, forthcoming). Constraints on the acquisition of grammatical features coupled with the principles of meaning-based approaches to language teaching cry out, I believe, for a rethinking of just what grammar instruction means in a more global curriculum.

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The Politics of Methodology - Recent Trends and the Teaching of "Other"* Languages

DIANE MUSUMECI
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

[* Which foreign language do you now or have you ever studied?
a) Spanish; b) French; c) German; d) Other.]

Introduction

World economy and politics have created new interest in the U.S. in the teaching and learning of heretofore uncommonly-taught languages. The new population of language learners that has been created by this interest differs from the "traditional" language student in background, motivation and need for learning the foreign language. This change in the learner population with its focus on the development of functional language ability in the classroom coincides complementarily with recent changes in classroom foreign language teaching, such as communicative language teaching, which has been widely known and practiced in English as a Second Language (ESL), Spanish, French, and German for over a decade.

Real and perceived differences between large language programs and the smaller, less commonly taught language programs, sometimes aggravated by politics internal to language departments, have not allowed for exchange across languages regarding innovations in classroom practices. While a large program with many faculty members may include a specialist in second language acquisition among the specialists in literature, it is often the case that, in the small program, the literature specialist must also assume the roles of language teaching coordinator, curriculum designer, test developer, and methodologist. This example is by no means meant to denigrate the competence of the non-specialist in second language acquisition, but simply to point out that, in small language programs, it is often the responsibility of one or two faculty members to sustain the entire undergraduate and graduate curricula in both language and literature.

This paper attempts to address the impact of the revitalized interest in foreign language teaching and learning on the classroom practices of instructors and students of "other" languages, such as Portuguese. It profiles the consequent changes that can be expected to occur in language programs and outlines methodologies which

reflect those changes. The focus of the discussion is on the particularities of the small, less commonly taught language program, particularities which must be considered in the adoption and/or adaptation of recent trends in language teaching to the Portuguese language learning context.

The Changing Face of Foreign Language Learning

We are experiencing a renaissance in language learning. Recent figures show increasing enrollment in foreign language programs, especially for the "other" languages.[1] While this phenomenon is certainly welcome, it should not be viewed too romantically. Just as the Renaissance of the 1400's flourished as a result of an affluent society with international interests, so today one should be aware of the role that world economy and politics play in this burgeoning interest in foreign language education. It is not the purpose of this paper to judge the motives behind U.S. government interest in the promotion of the study of Portuguese. It *is* in the best interest of language professionals, however, to understand the impact of that interest on their students and on the objectives of their curricula.

A revolution has occurred in second/foreign language education over the past decade. Prior to this time, language teachers were prepared to teach by being given a set of instructions to follow, i.e., a course in "methods" which generally treated various ways of presenting grammatical structures. Many who began their university teaching careers as graduate teaching assistants were simply handed a textbook and told which chapters to cover. First-year students studied "all of the grammar." In the second year, they reviewed it. After this preparation, students moved on to conversation and literature courses. It was not uncommon for teachers at these "advanced" levels to complain that students could neither speak nor read--probably due to insufficient preparation in the first two years or, especially if they themselves had taught the earlier courses, some deficiency in the learners. After all, weren't the students past the "critical age" for learning a foreign language, anyway? Since it was

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[1] A survey conducted by the Modern Language Association revealed that, from 1980 to 1986, enrollment in Portuguese increased fourteen percent; in Russian, fourteen percent; and in Japanese forty-five percent. R. Brod (1986), *Foreign Language Enrollments in U.S. Institutions of Higher Education - Fall 1986*.

assumed that the instructor knew what to teach (and certainly had enough practice in teaching it), the successful students became the few language majors and the others simply disappeared, convinced that they were incapable of learning a foreign language (see Horwitz, 1988, for a lucid discussion of long-term effects of unsuccessful language learning experiences on adults).

Basically two things have happened to change the scenario, one inside the profession itself and one outside of it. Outside of the language profession itself, the learners changed. Or rather, the language learners' needs changed because the political, economic and social dimensions of language use began to be realized. American society began to insist that, upon completion of their language study, students have a functional, communicative ability in the language. What was once considered solely an academic subject, with its gratification in the learning, is now perceived as a process of acquiring an expertise to be effectively applied in real world situations. The focus has been diverted from what students *know about* the language to what they *can do in the language*. Since earlier curricula were not successful in creating proficient users of the language, new approaches were sought. It is difficult to say which caused the other, or even if there is a cause-effect relationship; and the determination of its genesis is not important to this discussion. The critical issue at hand is the complementary relationship that now exists between the two.

Concurrently, a change within the language teaching profession took place. The focus shifted from viewing language as a set of grammatical structures and their accompanying rules for application to a view of language as a complex communications system for interactive social behavior. This latter view required that language be treated as a network of social and cultural as well as linguistic conventions. The level of linguistic investigation broadened from the sentence to discourse. The areas of psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics grew exponentially. Current second language acquisition theory is concerned with the process, not only the product of language learning. And what a plethora of methods and approaches have arisen to encourage that process! Total Physical Response (Asher, 1986), Silent Way (Gattegno, 1976), Natural Approach (Krashen & Terrell, 1983), Suggestopedia (Lozanov, 1978), Immersion (Swain, 1984; Genesee, 1984), Content Language Learning (Mohen, 1986), Communicative

Language Teaching (Savignon, 1983), Proficiency-Oriented Instruction (Omaggio, 1986), all attempt to ensure the development of communicative language ability in the foreign language classroom.[2]

Implications for the Teaching/Learning of Less Commonly Taught Languages

Language teachers are left in a quandary. They are confronted with learners (and the society from which they come) who demand very real results from their language learning experience. The method with which they are most familiar, however, does not meet those demands. The profession presents them with what appears to be a confusing, and at times, contradictory array of choices: the "Silent Way" proposes that the instructor remain silent most of the time, while the "Natural Approach" contends that it is only through comprehensible input, provided primarily by the instructor, that learners acquire the language.

Language teachers are not without options. They can close their eyes, attempt to ignore the changes that have occurred, and continue to teach as usual. The few students who are successful learners (and there always are some, no matter which method was used) may continue by taking the "conversation course." The students who were initially attracted to the study of Portuguese as an adjunct to studies in commerce, agriculture, engineering, or political science, upon discovering that they have not developed any sort of competence in using the language and who still have no desire to pursue advanced coursework in literature, will write off the experience as a mistake in judgment. However, the United States is a pragmatic society, one that rewards the entrepreneur. Someone will step in to fulfill the task that current language professionals choose not to accept. They can, on the other hand, rise to the challenge.

The implications of the latter choice for classroom practices are several. First, one must accept that students have specific needs.

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[2] For a cogent introduction to the distinguishing characteristics of several of these approaches, cf. J. Richards & T.S. Rodgers (1986), *Approaches and Methods in Language Teaching: A Description and Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

They can no longer be expected to patiently wait two years before being asked to express an opinion, negotiate a social situation, or convey personal information on a topic which interests them. Certainly one cannot expect them to accept that after investing their time and effort in language study they would not be able to accomplish those tasks. These are reasonable requests. Learners need the language professional to provide them with the appropriate language to perform these tasks as well as numerous opportunities for accomplishing them in the classroom setting.

Classroom activities must necessarily change. They must provide the student with the context in which to hear, understand, and interact in Portuguese in order to interpret and convey meaning. The focus must be on the message, the speaker's (or writer's) intent. The assumption is that the students will expect and will be expected to listen to, say, read, and write language that is significant, that is used for a purpose. The emphasis will be on *what the students are saying*, rather than only on *how they are saying it*.

Unfortunately, most textbooks (perhaps all, in the case of "other" languages) give absolutely no direction for this kind of language learning. Once again, politics raises its head. It is not economically advantageous for publishing houses to produce innovative materials for such small (relative to the "Big 4") language learning populations. As a result, teachers must assume the additional role of publishers and create their own materials. This requires creativity, imagination, time, energy, and stamina. Help may be found by examining existing materials for other languages, especially in ESL. A word of caution, however, is necessary. While many truly innovative and exciting materials exist for ESL, they were prepared for a particular learner population: students of English who are living in an English-speaking environment, many of whom have already had several years' experience studying English and who are currently pursuing studies in higher education. Materials prepared for this population may not be the most appropriate models for the needs of the beginning students of Portuguese. Participation in language teaching workshops and contact with innovative instructors of other languages are excellent sources of ideas and additional information regarding methods and techniques. Whatever materials or approaches are suggested, they

should be subjected to scrutiny. The following are among the most general questions one might ask:

(1) Does the approach reflect the view that language is a form of social behavior, with intents and purposes, and that the form that it takes depends on speaker, hearer, and context variables?

(2) Is the function of the materials to engage learners in using the language for a purpose other than practice of grammatical forms?

(3) Does the format of the instruction provide learners with the opportunity for personal expression and negotiation of meaning? Savignon (1983) provides a useful checklist for textbook evaluation.

Conclusion

I would like to stress that I am not advocating the patent adoption of materials created for other language contexts, nor for that matter of any one specific method. As enthusiastic as some proponents of various methods may be, to-date there is no empirical evidence that establishes the greater efficacy of any one approach. The responsibility lies with individual instructors to create, locate, adopt, and adapt materials for their own particular programs. Small language programs offer both advantages and disadvantages. A major drawback is the dire lack of materials which translate current methodological concerns into classroom texts. Furthermore, the preparation of the curriculum and syllabi and of materials is often the responsibility of one person. In many cases that one person *is* the program. There is no margin for error. If one of thirty first-semester sections of Spanish is not successfully taught, the system can absorb the consequences; not so if it is one section of two or the only second semester course that feeds the third semester, etc. On the other hand, small programs need not be concerned with the standardization which drives so much of the administration of larger programs. The language learning experience can be more personalized. Dynamic instructors can see immediate results of teaching innovations.

In addition, some provision must be made in the curriculum for the learners (perhaps the majority) who were initially motivated to learn Portuguese for academic pursuits other than the study of literature (commerce, agriculture, cinematography, engineering, law, etc.). Depending on learners' needs, this might suggest an

advanced course in commercial Portuguese, a content-area course devoted to the geography of Brazil, a course in Brazilian films, etc.

Prevailing trends in second language methodology in combination with an upsurge of interest in the less commonly taught languages make the present a challenging era in which to be language professionals. It is a time of innovation: new theories, new practices, new learners, new perspectives. The somewhat arrogant certainty of the past is gone. Expectations for the outcome of classroom language learning have changed: where once there was a complacency about the limitations of classroom foreign language learning, there is now a demand to produce communicatively-competent language users. In order to achieve this objective, the nature of the foreign language classroom has undergone fundamental changes: pattern practice, drills, and substitution exercises have been replaced by activities that focus on the expression and negotiation of meaning, rather than linguistic form. In that process, a great deal of effort and responsibility is placed on both the teacher and the learner. The measure of the rewards of these changes should be not merely larger language programs, but more interested, enthusiastic, successful students and, thus, more successful teachers.

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Recent Research on Second Language Learners: Beliefs and Anxiety

ELAINE HORWITZ
University of Texas at Austin

Recently, I have been studying the impact of two variables, foreign language anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; Horwitz, 1986) and learner beliefs about language learning (Horwitz, 1987; Horwitz, 1988), on learner achievement in a foreign language and satisfaction with instruction. While these factors would seem to have general importance for language learning, they are especially relevant when considering the experience of adult second language learners. Knowles (1973: 64) argues that adult learners must feel "freedom from discouragement, the expectation of failure or threats to physical, emotional or intellectual well being." In the case of adult foreign language learners, we know that foreign language anxiety and certain commonly held beliefs about language learning can interfere to a significant extent with the safe and secure environment recognized as necessary to adult learning (Knowles).

The emotional security adults feel in language learning situations likely depends a great deal upon their previous experiences in language learning. Mary Lou Price (1986) recounts the results of interviews with adults who described themselves as anxious about foreign language learning. Even years later, these subjects recounted experiences in their language classes with detail and emotion. Some even had tears in their eyes or trembled as they retold a particularly traumatic incident.

Previous language learning experiences probably also influence the adult's self-concept as a language learner. An unsuccessful learning experience can convince a student that special abilities are required to learn a foreign language and that s/he does not possess these necessary abilities. In the American context, many adult language learners will have had such an experience. In addition, certain societal beliefs can influence adults' expectations for success. Senator Paul Simon, for one, observes:

> ... a widespread belief in the United States that acquiring another language is a special "gift" that some people have and that most people do not have (1980: 74).

Similarly, I have found that a substantial percentage of beginning language students at the university level discount their own language learning abilities (Horwitz, 1988).

Adult learning is special in another respect. Adults, as a result of their life experiences, have developed their own theories about the nature of language learning. They might feel, for example, that language learning consists primarily of learning vocabulary words or that mistakes must be corrected immediately; moreover, they expect to see these assumptions confirmed in their own language instruction. When they encounter teaching practices inconsistent with their preconceived notions about language learning, adults can become uncomfortable and fear a loss of control over their learning. And yet, American language teaching approaches have taken little account of how the learners think instruction ought to proceed. Instruction is typically teacher-centered, and while student opinions may be occasionally solicited, it is the teacher who dictates the course content and practices. While these instructional decisions are without a doubt thoughtful and well-meaning, there are likely to be many conflicts between teacher and student conceptions of appropriate language learning practices.

Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety

We turn first to an all-too-common experience for adult foreign language learners: anxiety reactions.

I have argued elsewhere that language learning and language classes can be traumatic experiences for adults (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986). Individuals who typically perceive themselves as reasonably intelligent and socially-adept can find themselves having difficulty communicating the most basic concepts when using the foreign language. The difficulty of communicating even the simplest ideas and concepts can threaten an individual's self-concept as a competent communicator and lead to self- consciousness, and in some more extreme cases, fear. Moreover, when an individual finally succeeds in constructing a target language message, the communication attempt is then evaluated according to unfamiliar standards. The teacher can always up the evaluation ante by finding a hitherto undisclosed kind of error in a student's utterance. Thus, even the most self-confident individual can find second language communication frustrating and anxiety-provoking. Although anxiety reactions to other academic disciplines such as mathematics

and science are legion, probably no other field of study requires an individual to take social risks or endure potential public embarrassment in the way language study does.

To learn more about the nature of foreign language anxiety and to help individuals troubled by it, students in beginning language classes at the University of Texas at Austin were invited to participate in a "Support Group for Foreign Language Learning."[1] Frankly, I was startled at the response. Over one-third of the students informed of the opportunity were concerned enough about their foreign language class to indicate that they would like to join the group. Several of the difficulties reported by anxious foreign language learners seem particularly relevant to our discussion of special considerations for adult language learning.

First of all, anxious foreign language students report the same bodily symptoms (tenseness, trembling, perspiring, heart pounding, and sleep disturbances) and behaviors ("freezing" in class, standing outside the door trying to summon up enough courage to enter, and going blank prior to tests) commonly associated with other academic anxieties. However, difficulty speaking spontaneously in class is probably the most frequently cited concern of anxious foreign language learners. Students report that they usually feel comfortable responding to a drill or delivering prepared speeches but tend to block in a role-play situation. Oftentimes, anxious students spend hours rehearsing responses for an upcoming class only to find themselves unable to pronounce "their lines" the next day. Problems with listening comprehension are also frequently-cited. Anxious language learners complain of difficulties discriminating the sounds and structures or grasping the meaning of their teacher's target language utterances. In fact, many students claim to have little or no idea of what the teacher is saying in extended target language discourse. In some extreme cases, students claim to hear only a loud buzz or some sort of noise when the teacher speaks the foreign language.

Testing situations can be particularly traumatic for language learners. Foreign language teachers often hear students say that they "knew" a certain grammar point but "forgot" it during a test or an

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[1] During the course of the program, participants were offered a variety of suggestions and support to increase their ability to cope with the stress of foreign language class. See Cope (1988) for a full report of this intervention.

oral exercise when many grammar points have to be handled simultaneously. Similarly, anxiety can seem to manifest itself as carelessness. Students realize, usually some time after a test, that they knew the correct answer but put down the wrong one due to nervousness. A related response to anxiety might be called "overstudying." One young woman reported spending all her free time on her first semester French class at the expense of her other courses as well as her personal life. Conversely, some anxious students avoid studying and even skip classes entirely in an attempt to alleviate personal feelings of inadequacy. symptoms of anxiety that foreign language professionals might encounter in their learners, but more importantly, it was meant to illustrate how strongly some people react to language learning. We will return in the final section to a consideration of how adults perceive the experience of language learning.

Beliefs About Language Learning

Beliefs about language learning are another important factor mediating the adult language learning experience. By beliefs about language learning, I mean preconceived ideas about the nature of the language learning task rather than learner attitudes toward the target language and the target language group. They are the notions about language learning we all encounter in cocktail party conversations, newspaper advertisements, and airline magazine articles. Notions about female superiority at language learning or the necessity of learning a mass of vocabulary words are examples of the kinds of preconceived ideas that language learners bring with them into the classroom.

To illustrate the types of beliefs adults may hold and the potential impact of these beliefs, I will report some of beliefs about language learning I have documented in first-semester university foreign language students (French, German, and Spanish).[2] The study used an instrument called the Beliefs About Language Learning Inventory (BALLI) to survey student opinion on a variety

[2] There were two-hundred and forty-one subjects in the study, eighty German students, sixty-three French students, and ninety-eight Spanish students. For a full report on the findings, see Horwitz (1988). This study utilized the foreign language version of the scale; see Horwitz (1987) for the ESL version and Horwitz (1985) for the teacher version.

of issues and controversies related to language learning including: (1) difficulty of language learning; (2) foreign language aptitude; (3) the nature of language learning; (4) learning and communication strategies; and (5) motivations and expectations.

Several of the students' responses are noteworthy for our discussion of adult language learning. For example, the students had definite opinions about how long it takes to learn a foreign language. Asked how long it would take to learn a foreign language if someone spent one hour a day trying, from five to eight percent of the students in each language group answered under a year, and well over one third of each group chose one to two years. Thus, many of the students seem to think it possible to learn to speak a language within the constraints of a typical four-semester sequence of beginning language courses.

The students' beliefs about foreign language aptitude were also interesting as they give us some insight into their own self-concepts as language learners. For example, the subjects strongly endorsed the idea that some people are born with a special ability to learn a foreign language, and these adult learners felt overwhelmingly that it is easier for children than adults to learn a foreign language. On the other hand, most of the students believed that everyone can learn a foreign language. Thus, although most of these learners thought that better language learners might exist, they may have felt personally adequate to the task.

The subjects were also asked about their view of the best way to learn a language. Although the majority of the students agreed that learning a language differed from learning other school subjects, many of the students seemed to have a rather limited view of exactly what it was. For example, twenty-five to thirty-nine percent of the students in each language group felt that the most important part of learning a language was learning vocabulary words, and at least twenty-five percent of each group believed that learning a foreign language was mostly a matter of learning a lot of grammar rules. Although the pattern of BALLI responses was strikingly similar in the three language groups in this study, the item concerning the role of translation in language learning drew divergent responses among the language groups. German and Spanish students overwhelmingly supported the idea that learning a foreign language was mainly a matter of learning to translate from English while the French students disagreed. I think that these

reversed responses are a hopeful sign, indicating that classroom experiences have some potential for altering student beliefs about language learning.[3]

As we look at these beliefs in combination, we seem to find a mismatch between many of these students' expectations about language learning and the realities they encounter in the classroom. Upwards of forty percent of the students surveyed felt that it was possible to become fluent in a second language in two years or less, and over sixty percent of the Spanish and German students felt that learning a foreign language mostly involved translating from English. Students who anticipate fluency in two-years of part-time study are likely to become frustrated and attribute their incomplete fluency to poor instruction or personal inadequacies. Negative language learning experiences likely reinforce individual beliefs that special abilities are necessary to learn a language and that only a few select individuals possess this talent. Learner beliefs also pose questions about the choice of language learning strategies. Students who believe that language learning is mainly a matter of learning to translate from English likely spend the majority of their efforts in translation to the neglect of more effective language learning practices.

Learner Beliefs and Learners Anxiety

Several of the beliefs catalogued may contribute to learner anxiety in the language classroom. A significant minority of the students (at least twenty percent in each group) disagreed with the statement, "it is okay to guess if you don't know a word in the foreign language," and a small percentage of each group felt that you shouldn't say anything in the foreign language until you can say it correctly. In addition, approximately fifty percent of each group felt that beginning students would probably find it difficult later in language learning to correct the errors they are allowed to make in the beginning stages, and at least forty percent in each group stressed the importance of speaking with "an excellent accent." Probably not surprisingly, in light of these responses, many of the students (forty-four percent in the German group, fifty-nine percent

[3] The Balli was administered during the first three weeks of the semester. Thus, it is possible that instructional practices had already had some impact on the students' responses.

in the French group, and fifty-three percent in the Spanish) reported feeling self-conscious when they spoke the language in front of other people.

Students who hold these and similar assumptions about language learning would seem to be in a no-win situation: They are required to speak in their foreign language classes, but like all beginners, they find themselves making mistakes, guessing, and articulating the sounds poorly. This must, indeed, be an anxiety-provoking situation, feeling that target language correctness is so important while being personally unable to achieve such accuracy. Language students who have such unrealistic expectations for their own performance will probably experience anxiety as a natural result.

In order to explore the relationship between learner beliefs and anxiety more fully, Stephen Sadow and I administered the BALLI and a measure of foreign language anxiety (Foreign Language Anxiety Scale, Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986) to a group of beginning Spanish students at Northeastern University in Boston. Our goal was to determine if any of the beliefs inventoried by the BALLI were associated with higher levels of student anxiety. The BALLI was administered at the beginning of the quarter to allow an examination with the students' incoming beliefs independent of subsequent classroom experiences. Although our sample turned out to be smaller than expected (n=34), responses to several BALLI items did distinguish between more and less anxious students.

First of all, there was a significant difference in anxiety level between students who judged themselves to have foreign language aptitude and those who did not. That is, students who disagreed with the statement, "I have foreign language aptitude" were significantly more anxious than the students who agreed with it ($F = 10.85$, $p = .004$). Moreover, subjects who disagreed with the statement "everyone can learn to speak a foreign language" were significantly more anxious than subjects who agreed with it ($F = 4.88$, $p = .036$). Taken together, the anxious students would seem to believe that only some people are inherently able to learn a language and that they themselves were not part of this select group.

Two other responses--which fell just short of achieving statistical significance--are also noteworthy here. Students who judged Spanish to be a "difficult" or "very difficult" language were

more anxious than those students who judged Spanish to be "an easy" or "a very easy" language ($F = 4.14$, $p = .067$). And students who believed that they would ultimately learn to speak Spanish very well were less anxious than those who were more pessimistic about their prospects ($F = 4.07$, $p = .057$).

In summary, the more anxious foreign language students in this study believed that Spanish is a relatively difficult target language, that only some people are able to learn a foreign language, and that they themselves lacked foreign language aptitude. Consistently, they did not expect to end up speaking Spanish very well. It is not difficult to see how these beliefs would contribute to learner anxiety. As compared with less anxious students, anxious learners assess their task as relatively difficult and see themselves as relatively unqualified; no wonder they find language class a traumatic experience. We must also note that many of the anxiety-provoking beliefs discussed above (e.g., a language can be learned in a maximum of two years or that one shouldn't guess an unknown word in the foreign language) are shared by at least some of the anxious students (even though these items did not discriminate statistically between more and less anxious students). Thus, we must consider that the beliefs language students bring to the classroom contribute to anxiety reactions, negative self-concepts as language learners, and negative expectations for language learning.

The Experience of Adult Language Learning

In this paper, I have described two factors impacting on the learner's perspective on the classroom experience. It is essential that we as language teachers and researchers understand how adult learners feel during the learning process and how they perceive language instruction. As teachers, we must change the learning environment to better accommodate adult learners. At this point it is not yet possible to know how much learner anxiety is intrinsic to language learning and how much is due to modifiable classroom practices, but we can monitor our classrooms and eliminate those activities which seem to be the most anxiety-producing. Young (1988), for example, found that college students were much less anxious performing role-play activities in small groups than in front of the entire class.

For researchers, an understanding of the learner's perspective is a prerequisite to understanding learner practices.

Oxford and Nyikos (1989) speak eloquently about individual differences in strategy use and strategy effectiveness and speculate on the implications of these differences. However, learner anxiety and beliefs about language learning would seem to be intimately intertwined with strategy choice. An individual who fails to take advantage of opportunities to converse with native speakers may be avoiding a potentially anxiety-provoking experience, while a student who looks up every word in a reading passage may be acting upon a belief that it is necessary to understand every word.

I will refrain from concluding with suggestions for coping with learner anxiety or beliefs in the traditional classroom; I have offered some considerations elsewhere (Horwitz, Horwitz, & Cope, 1986; Horwitz, 1988), but many times these concerns will have to be worked out by individual teachers. I would, however, like to remind us of an alternative context for language learning. In his new book, Self-Instruction in Language Learning, Leslie Dickinson (1987) argues that each person has his or her own needs for learning a particular language and that teaching materials and instructional sequences should be based on these needs. He discusses the numerous self-instructional language centers in Europe where abundant language materials are made available to language learners on a lending-library basis. In some programs, language teaching professionals serve as consultants giving students advice on the language learning process and effective language learning strategies, but it is the learner who is seen as ultimately responsible for all decisions related to language learning. In the United States, language teaching is almost exclusively the province of educational institutions, private language schools, and tape marketers. In all these situations the learners' needs are subordinate to pre-determined curricula and syllabi. If we are truly concerned with the needs and affective responses of adult learners, we must move toward a more cooperative model of language instruction. Providing adult learners with counseling about potential language learning approaches and direct access to a library of state-of-the-art materials would certainly be a step in the right direction. But whatever the instructional organization, we must attend more closely to the match between instruction and learners preconceptions about how it ought to proceed as well as adults' inherent needs for emotional security.

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PART III: READING IN A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

Reading as a Classroom Activity: Theory and Techniques

RICHARD KERN
University of Texas at Austin
JANET SWAFFAR
University of Texas at Austin
DOLLY YOUNG
University of Tennesee at Knoxville

The New Pedagogy of Reading: Theory and Research

In the past thirty years a shift in perspective has occurred in language teaching, a shift prominently reflected in many tenets of the *ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines* (1986). This shift has redefined language learning by relocating the role of the learner. Instead of language study revolving around formal features, today's learner studies the language created by real-world speakers and their language as normed by a given speech community. In other words, it no longer suffices to measure correctness or appropriateness of language use solely according to a standard of formal sentential accuracy. On the contrary, today the expectation is that content of speech (wanting to mail a letter), the context (standing in a post office talking to a clerk), and a hierarchy of linguistic functions (using simple sentences and tag questions) must all be considered together with questions of formal accuracy. Consequently, language skills are linked with higher order cognitive abilities--beyond the level of recognition and recall. As a result, the role of comprehension in listening and reading has changed.

Increasingly, comprehension and production abilities are seen as closely related. The notion that comprehension of new material is a first stage followed by a stage of "partial control" has meant that listening and reading, once considered passive skills, are viewed as interactive (between listener and speaker, reader and text). The impact of these developments on reading is just beginning to be felt. We are fortunate in having access to a growing body of research in both L1 and L2 regarding learner interactions with texts. This paper considers some theoretical and practical implications of that research for the FL teacher.

Within the past decade, second and foreign language research has established that many of the same factors that result in comprehension of texts in L1 are true for L2 as well. This assertion seems to be especially valid for foreign language learning if the students' first language literacy is also in an Indo-European language. Due to shared experiences that result in common cultural expectations, Western readers often have similar textual schemata--prior knowledge of how texts present information. Fairy stories have magical occurrences, newspaper articles tell the reader about persons, places, and events, movie reviews summarize plots and indicate whether or not the film is worth seeing. Schemata that are already in place help students to predict textual events and the manner in which those events occur. When readers recognize subject matter and genre they already possess an entry into the way information in any given text type will be presented. Equally important, they have the prior knowledge to link to new information, an essential precondition of adult learning (Ausubel, 1963).

Activation of schemata is, however, not necessarily automatic. Good readers in their native tongue may ignore L1 strategies when faced with the FL text (Clarke, 1980). Whereas arguably reading comprehension may founder on faulty language mastery, a case can also be built that readings selected with prior reader schemata in mind can help build language acquisition. First semester students of Spanish who know about baseball seem to comprehend as much of an appropriate reading passage as students with three semesters and no knowledge of baseball (Levine & Haus, 1985). Such indications suggest that FL teachers could increase comprehensible input by choosing passages from magazines or travel brochures about events, people, or places already familiar and interesting to students of the language to be learned (Adams, 1982; Carrell, 1983).

Recent findings suggest authentic texts may be more appropriate for engaging reader schemata than their edited counterparts. Edited texts have been written to incorporate certain vocabulary and language structures. Often these linguistic advantages are offset by deficits in informational or entertainment value. Although edited texts engage students in vocabulary drills and discrete point tasks, they rarely function as genuine sources of information. Moreover, they lack the discourse markers,

redundancy features, and elaborations of authentic materials. Not only college students of foreign language (Lee & Musumeci, 1988), but also those in high school can derive meaning from texts written for native speakers (Allen et al., 1988).

Suggested Changes in Current Reading Pedagogy

Three suggestions emerge from the foregoing data: (1) reading instruction in Indo-European languages can start much earlier than has been the case heretofore; (2) texts should be selected in terms of student familiarity with a given topic; (3) authentic texts from newspapers, magazines, advertising, or textbooks in the area of student interest will probably activate greater student interest than pedagogically edited texts and may compensate for their readers' linguistic deficiencies.

Student reaction to texts is predictably related to the interests of those students as well as to textual treatment of topical information. Preliminary research and attitude findings suggest that authentic texts encourage positive affect. Any learner-centered approach seeks materials that are of interest to students and that reflect a real-world speech community. In conjunction with interest and the FL reality it conveys, learner-centered teachers will want to know what the reader thinks about the text rather than what the text says, in and of itself.

Authentic passages presenting current topics, both trivial and serious, are likely to enhance student interest and encourage active participation in class discussion. Classroom discourse about current tastes in rock music or the problems of working mothers have a real world vitality often lacking in the edited texts designed to teach language. The exchange of information between student and teacher need not be an artificial process of eliciting information for the sake of establishing command of language. Use of authentic materials promotes student questions of the teacher--requests for additional facts or background information as well as the meaning of particular terms. Conversely, use of authentic texts allows students with particular specializations to reveal their expertise about the topic under discussion. Often majors in, for example, music, sociology, or the natural sciences can provide additional information or insights concerning the issue at hand.

One practical implication of these findings is that teachers should consider reading as a classroom rather than an assigned

activity. In supporting this assertion the authors will attempt to illustrate how a teacher can use authentic materials to key into students' preexisting knowledge. Ultimately the learner-centered goal is to put the class "in charge" of getting meaning through their participation in the reading process. The discussion that follows suggests such procedures for reading Portuguese.[1] These techniques may be used at any level of foreign language instruction. Accessible texts, such as the one illustrated in this article, will be useful as early as the first weeks of a beginning class. When students are adults who already possess the conceptual knowledge upon which the readings are based, exposure to longer discourse will help build the comprehension base that precedes partial control and control stages in language acquisition. What is the research basis for this assertion?

Potential Hazards in Reader Reliance on Schemata and How to Address Them

Studies in L2 reading suggest that while background knowledge plays a significant role in reading comprehension, students can only capitalize on their schemata under relatively discrete conditions. A variety of factors determine the degree of success that students experience in linking their schemata to a text. One factor will be the level of reading proficiency in any given class. Assuming the teacher uses appropriate follow up and testing techniques, students begin to engage in new reading habits with a semester of exposure to a text-based approach that activates reader schemata (Hamp-Lyons, 1985). Yet just as research provides evidence that activation of that schemata facilitates reading, it also has uncovered potential problem areas in student comprehension of texts. Schemata can work against as well as for the reader.

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[1] These papers were originally presented at The Conference on Portuguese Language: Teaching and Testing, Austin, Texas on March 4, 1989. The talks (including that of James Lee) were conceived of and organized as related aspects of the global problem of teaching FL reading as a classroom activity. Dolly Young wrote the section on schema theory and previewing, Richard Kern adapted the section on DTRA from a longer paper on this topic, and Janet Swaffar wrote the section on sequencing reading activities so that they serve as the basis for increasingly complex language production. Janet Swaffar synthesized the three papers after consultation with her co-authors.

Factor 1: Lack of schema or the failure to activate an appropriate schema can significantly alter or inhibit reading comprehension (e.g., Steffensen et al., 1979).

When students fail to recognize a story line or when they read ironic observations as though they were intended seriously, decoding words accurately seldom alleviates the problem. Dictionaries or anthologies with glosses seldom help. For example, students exposed to unfamiliar concepts probably will "misread" them, assuming the concepts more familiar to their experience no matter what the text states. Bernhardt (1986a, 1986b) conducted several studies in which this phenomenon occurs. As a case in point, a student used the word accurately in one reading passage, yet in a second passage translated woods (German Wald) as world, because that particular text stated that woods were dying. Presumably because in English usage trees die but not forests, a misreading occurred that distorted the entire passage. Bernhardt's evidence suggests that FL readers tend to devise a schema at the outset of reading and then maintain it, even in the face of conflicting language evidence. In other words, students with limited language command, i.e., those in the first two or three years of language study, frequently disregard the meaning of words whose meanings they recognize in another context, in favor of their mind set about the text. Their FL language processing is apparently too weak to counter their preexisting schemata. Whereas successful L1 readers correct faulty schematizing (Brown 1980), evidence thus far suggests that FL readers are less likely to do so.

Common procedures for reading instruction such as assigning a given number of pages and asking five or six questions about particular features of the passage, fail to aid readers in avoiding misreadings. Such questions ask for pieces rather than a grasp of the connections between the pieces. If the text is a fairy tale, for example, traditional convergent questions elicit discrete information, the "one right answer," as in: "When did Cinderella leave the ball?" or "What did she leave behind?" Convergent questions rarely remediate misreadings because during the subsequent class session these questions focus on a language product for which prepared answers are given. In such an assignment scenario, students go home and read the story. If that story is recognized as Cinderella, the likelihood that students will recognize familiar shifts of scene and people exists. What happens,

however, when the story has a "twist" and introduces unpredictable characters and events (the fairy godmother tricks Cinderella or the prince prefers the selfish stepdaughters)? Under such circumstances, only process approaches that orient students in advance counter potential problems, e.g., "Although based on the Cinderella story we all know, this version introduces some radical changes. See if you can find them." Without such a proviso, students are likely to become confused about unforeseen developments in the story line. When this happens, they resort to reading word for word or to relying on a dictionary rather than their own reasoning processes and often misconstrue the entire text as a result.

Factor 2: Students Often Fail to Use L1 Reading Strategies When Reading in FL.

The second factor follows logically from the first. Schemata are so powerful that they can eclipse other considerations. The authors hypothesize that, because of their power, FL readers tend to compensate by going to one extreme or the other with regard to schemata use. Either they exhibit an over-reliance on schemata or decide to divest themselves of any schemata whatsoever. This axiom seems to explain two tendencies that researchers have noted: a failure to correct misreadings on the one hand and a failure to employ schemata on the other. To counteract either tendency, the instructor must provide the necessary interface between familiar L1 knowledge and the unfamiliar foreign language.

Why, it could be argued, should students use schemata at all? Why not simply rely on the text's language? One cogent answer to these questions is that overreliance on textual language to the exclusion of reader schematizing will result in a "flat" reading. Students may recognize and even reproduce textual language without having the faintest idea of what to do with it or what it implies (e.g., Perrig & Kintsch, 1985). To activate schemata and prevent misreading or uninformed reading, the topic and the text treatment of the topic must be introduced before students undertake the reading task. Often teachers object to pre-reading activities out of concern that they will give away the text. Students will not have to read to know what happened. The answer to that objection is that the motivation to read will depend on how pre-reading occurs. If students hear a story synopsis dictated by the teacher, the objection

may well be valid. The key to success in this procedure is activation of student knowledge. Pre-reading should not give away the story, but rather give students the tools to approach a text in the target language.

Factor 3: Familiar Concepts are More Memorable than Unfamiliar Ones.

Schemata can link student knowledge and text language when the instructor asks for the known rather than the unknown. It may be that students know given FL words in a text or perhaps they can encode information in English, but are not yet ready to do so in the FL. When readers scan a text for specific words (all the terms that refer to the people in the story, for example) or skim an initial paragraph for global ideas about "who" or "what" the passage may be about, they relate information and commence to form propositions about what the text says. Whether this process occurs initially in English or in the FL can depend on student initiative. The teacher's use of an overhead projector or blackboard to note relevant words or phrases in the FL enables students to match textual information in FL with their L1 comprehension. In addition, the procedure previews vocabulary learning. A caveat here, of course, is that unfamiliar texts or information will lack these facilitation effects.

Suggestions for Pre-reading: The Preview as Practice in Applying Global Strategies

What follows are suggestions for approaching pre-reading in Portuguese. The goal of these activities is to activate student background knowledge with an authentic text. The text is taken from *Veja*, a Portuguese magazine similar to *Time* magazine (see **Appendix**). The passage meets criteria for schematic appropriateness in that the text incorporates features familiar to American students. The text summarizes a sociological study about happiness in marriage. Frequently, American periodicals discuss studies about success in a given social, personal, or economic realm. Sociological research has predictable features such as a hypothesis to be tested, discussion of the interviewees, and a summary of the findings. In this case, findings occur in a grid of most to least frequent answers, a sequence that catches reader

attention by inviting comparison (What did most people say? What do I think?).

The instructional sequence that follows is based on the presumption that a student audience will possess background knowledge compatible with activation of global assumptions about the text's probable meanings and manifestation of those probable meanings in linguistic detail. No presumption is made that students have command of all vocabulary and structures in the text. On the contrary, use of this text implies that the instructor does not consider such command necessary for successful reading comprehension. The student task will be to undertake brief (thirty second) skimming and scanning tasks to establish initial impressions of text schema and its treatment and to link these global concepts to their own schemata about the passage's subject matter.

Step 1: Student Language. Focus discussion on a personalized aspect of the text topic. With the *Veja* passage, it would be appropriate to ask students to make observations about characteristics of long-lasting relationships. In so doing the instructor ascertains what and how much the students already know about a topic. As students convey their concepts, whether they do so in Portuguese or English, the instructor writes comments on the board in Portuguese. Cognitive, linguistic, and affective goals are all served in this process. Affective considerations are served here because attention is on student knowledge rather than the pseudo-information of true/false or discrete point questions. Moreover, since the language demand is optional, those students who are uneasy about using Portuguese tend to feel more relaxed about expressing themselves. Cognitive goals are served when students reflect on the multiple potentials in a passage and the probable limitations on its topic. The record-keeping of the instructor serves the initial linguistic goal of vocabulary recognition: all verbalized comments appear in writing in Portuguese. A review of the comments affords additional practice that can lead to partial control of vocabulary and structures on the blackboard.

Step 2: Text language. Students identify the topic of the article based on the language in the text. The instructor gives students about a minute to skim the article. If the passage is longer than about four hundred words, instructions should specify whether students are to read only initial paragraphs--generally the first two paragraphs suffice to orient the reader to the text as a whole. Since

FL readers often ignore pictures, subtitles, and even titles of passages in that language, one feature of step two involves calling attention to these features in conjunction with the text--asking for textual statements that elaborate its title, for example. At this juncture a second list of words--the textual complement to the first list generated by student schemata--is put on the blackboard as students search out the relevant language of a passage's main ideas. If the notion of looking for names or descriptors of people, places, or objects is clear, students will select appropriate nouns and adjectives from the text. To the *Veja* text (see **Appendix**) typical responses in English or Portuguese might be sociological study, two sociologists, interviews of married couples, lasting relationships.

The problem of correctness does not arise, since students respond optionally and are selecting information from the text in front of them. In essence they read aloud from the first two or three paragraphs of the text. If students provide an answer that does not seem to fit, ask why they made that selection. Just as important as activating schemata, pre-reading practice should also uncover possible sources of misapprehension and address them. Occasional mispronunciations that arise can be dealt with as inhibitors of communication and opportunities to match pronunciation and orthography ("Did you say 'cat' or 'caught'?").

The pedagogical advantages of these two stages are considerable. Students isolate key vocabulary function (linguistic goal), juxtapose textual statements with their own schemata to confirm/disconfirm their understanding (cognitive goal). Perhaps most important, at least with respect to the affective goal, students participate in terms of what they know rather than, as is more usually the case, what they do not know. In stage one, the reader focus, the instructor ascertains students' knowledge. Pooling that knowledge reinforces a strategy of activating reader schemata rather than resorting to a word for word decoding process. Moreover, the classroom activity has set up a framework for accurate schematizing of the body of the text. In stage two, the text focus, misunderstanding of textual schemata, that is, failure to identify main ideas accurately, has been forestalled. The teacher's record keeping has ensured that the language of the text (student selections in stage two) is overtly compared to the language of student expectations (stage one).

The two-step activity should take no more than five to eight minutes of class time and reaps two measurable pedagogical benefits: (1) students experience the gains in comprehension enabled by reading for ideas rather than word for word; and (2) text language will be more memorable for having been introduced and linked to prior knowledge in L1.

Reading Comprehension as a Classroom Activity: The DTRA

The purpose of the previewing suggested above is only to introduce a reading assignment. If students are to learn how to use schema and other strategies to encode texts, however, they need more extensive reading practice. Consequently it is advisable to engage the class periodically in a reading activity that involves more than an introduction to a text. Naturally any in-class reading activity will involve longer periods of class time--between fifteen and twenty minutes. The use of class time is more than offset by the advantages of classroom reading. When students read an entire passage in class, clarification of topic and text type at the global level--the scope of the previewing activity--can be expanded to include textual details.

As with previewing, emphasis is on the learner. Because more time is being allotted, opportunities for feedback and clarification increase. By listening to hypotheses and comments that students make, teachers gain insight into their students' depth of processing, type of strategy use, and understanding of discourse relationships. At the same time, students experience that it is possible to read in a foreign language without recourse to a dictionary and that FL texts, like their first language counterparts, contain a wealth of inferential and interpretive as well information about content. Rather than concern about a particular right answer, in a classroom reading activity the emphasis is on reasonable inferences and rhetorical patterns in which facts appear.

The model for the classroom reading to be discussed here is adapted from Stauffer (1969). The author calls the technique a Directed Thinking and Reading Activity, hereafter referred to as DTRA. It is one of several suggestions in Gillet and Temple's (1982) volume about diagnosing L1 reading problems and

implementing appropriate reading activities.[2] Many of these activities, of which DTRA is only one, lend themselves to reading practice in a FL.

An activity during which an entire text is read provides opportunities to improve comprehension of either a fiction or a non-fiction text. Stauffer describes the process as a predict-read-prove cycle. "The teacher *activates thought* by asking 'What do you think?'; *agitates thought* by asking 'Why do you think so?'; and *requires evidence* by asking 'How can you prove it?'" (Stauffer as cited in Gillet & Temple 1982: 145; italics in the passage cited). For FL instruction, the "how can you prove it" question links the text language to the students' conceptualization. Even when English has been the language of student responses in the course of the DTRA, at this point students must refer to the Portuguese text which substantiates their opinions.

As with the previewing discussed above, DTRA commences before the student sees the text. Common procedure in a DTRA allows students access to only portions rather than the more usual procedure in pre-reading of letting students look at the text as a whole if they choose. In the DTRA exercise, subsections of the passage to be read are previewed as individual paragraphs or related groupings of paragraphs. The subsections focus attention on a particular paragraph or set of ideas; hence at the outset DTRA is not only an in-class reading activity, but also a more detailed or micro-oriented approach than the global previewing just discussed.

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[2] Gillet and Temple's book (1982) is designed to serve L1 teachers of reading in elementary and high schools. However, the thoroughness with which it covers assessment of the gamut of reading problems as well as its inventory of carefully elaborated every day classroom tasks render the guide a valuable resource for FL instructors. For additional reading activities see chapters five through seven. For elaboration of Stauffer's DTRA, see chapter five, pp. 143-153. Many first language textbooks contain suggestions for teaching reading that recommend themselves for FL reading as well. For additional ideas about how to solve a variety of reading problems, see Criscoe & Gee (1984), Harris & Smith (1986), Heimlich & Pittelman (1986), Ruddell (1974), Tierney, Readence & Dishner (1985).

Predicting, Reading, Thinking

1. Setting Purpose: Each student has a copy of the text to be read, as well as a blank sheet of paper to be used to cover unread portions of the text. Students are asked to cover all of the selection except for the title (and/or any illustrations that accompany the text). The teacher asks: Based on the title (and/or illustrations), what do you think this text will be about? Do you think this will be a story? an essay? a play? The teacher welcomes all contributions, even those that might seem "off base" and encourages discussion of the proposed hypotheses. Jocular suggestions are welcome. Often the revisions made subsequent to reading are more memorable (the salience factor) when linked to humor. In the case of the *Veja* passage, typical answers might be: "What makes marriages work" or "How to be happy in marriage."

2. Reading: Once several ideas have been offered, the teacher tells students to read silently to a predetermined point in the selection to find out whether they were right in their predictions. Students use their sheet of paper to cover the text following this predetermined point in order to prevent them from reading ahead accidentally. The amount of text read may range from a paragraph to several pages, depending on (1) the nature and length of the reading selection, and (2) the relative reading ability of the students. The temporary stopping point should ideally be a pivotal point in the information structure of the selection (e.g., just before a crucial event or outcome). With the *Veja* passage, that point would be the initial paragraphs explaining who conducted the study and some generalizations about its findings. Students read the segment of text with the specific purpose of testing the various hypotheses that they have proposed. While students are reading the teacher should be attentive to their reactions (as reflected by facial expressions, body language, etc.) both to identify students that might be having difficulty reading the text and to be able to prompt certain students on their reactions after reading has ceased (e.g., "John, you started laughing when you read this part. What struck you as funny?").

3. Developing comprehension: When students have finished reading the first segment the teacher asks the second and third set of questions: What do you think now? or Were you right? These questions encourage students to assess the accuracy of their prior hypotheses and to make modifications. They may also want to elaborate and further specify details of those findings (e.g., "It's

about a sociological study about marital happiness"). If modifications are made, the teacher should follow up by asking What made you change your mind? or Why do you think it's important to add that?, in order to focus students' attention on the specific parts of the text that made the modification necessary.

In the text about enduring relationships, for example, some students might have thought on the basis of the illustration alone that the couple in the picture were having a disagreement. After reading the two sets of questions, they will probably conclude that the picture represents two people talking calmly, discussing their shared philosophy or common objectives in life.

As was true for the previewing activity, all student ideas and comments are welcome regardless of their "correctness." Often when students (1) explain the logic behind their statements and (2) support their hypotheses by citing relevant portions of the text, seemingly unfounded or erroneous conclusions are clarified and make sense. Hence stipulating that students justify their positions not only eliminates haphazard guessing, it also allows the teacher to better understand students' comprehension processes.

Students who do not wish to volunteer comments should not be forced to participate. As in the previewing process, positive affective environment is essential to the success of this activity. Reticent learners may be experiencing difficulty in understanding the text; by listening to their peers' hypotheses and explanations in a non-threatening environment they may come to understand things that had escaped them while they were reading. It should therefore not be assumed that the quiet students are not learning; they may be learning as much as their more vocal classmates.

Before continuing, the teacher asks: What do you think will happen next?, eliciting predictions that establish purpose and motivation for reading the subsequent section of text. The cycle of predicting, reading, and thinking (1, 2, 3 above) is repeated until the end of the text is reached (usually four or five stopping points are sufficient). In the case of the Portuguese sample text as few as three pauses may suffice (the introduction, the women's answers, and the men's answers). In all three instances the instructor would compare expectations of the students with comprehension subsequent to actually reading what the passage says.

Together with its familiar schema, an additional factor in favor of the *Veja* text is its potential for lively discussion. After

establishing that two answer series are involved, the men and women in class could, for example, present the characteristics they speculate will be most important. Two sets of lists from male as opposed to female students may reveal interesting differences in priorities. Then, too, if only the illustration is shown at the outset, readers' predictions will most likely be quite diverse (e.g., a couple in love, Greek statues, overweight people).

After the class has read the introduction, however, students will converge and be making observations based on the text rather than their subjective views. Towards the completion of a group reading the classes' representations of the text become more similar. An experiential value of the DTRA is that it demonstrates to students that the reading process becomes easier after the schemata and language of the text have been identified. Such awareness is particularly important if the profession's goal is to produce students who are able to read longer texts in the FL for pleasure or interdisciplinary study.

Practical Considerations

Class Size. Stauffer (1969) indicates that the ideal group size ranges from eight to twelve members. However, the DRTA can be carried out fruitfully with up to twenty students. Relatively small group size allows students to compare and contrast their thinking with that of others: specifically, to observe how others make educated guesses, modify their hypotheses, use evidence to substantiate their predictions, and adapt their reading rate to their purpose.

Teacher's Role. Although students provide the bulk of active information-exchange during the activity, the teacher's role is critical in (1) selecting appropriate reading materials (and designating periodic stopping points),[3] (2) monitoring student response during

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[3] A prime consideration in selecting texts for the DRTA is their motivational value. FL texts that deal with entirely unfamiliar content or that differ significantly from rhetorical patterns in the students' native language will impede schema activation and therefore "short-circuit" the hypothesis formation/testing process. High interest texts that activate pre-existing background knowledge will provide the greatest motivation. The DRTA is effective with both narrative and expository texts. With expository texts a pre-reading activity component is recommended: the teacher asks the students to list

both reading and questioning/predicting phases, (3) requesting that students support all statements and predictions based on specific information in the text and/or previous background knowledge, (4) creating a supportive, cooperative atmosphere in which students are given time to think and to fully express their ideas, and (5) providing assistance when requested, but encouraging students to attempt resolution of problems by means of the reading strategies at their disposal.[4] In sum, the teacher's role is to moderate and facilitate rather than to control the interaction.

A Language Production Sequence: Reading as the Basis for Speaking, Listening, and Writing Activities

One of the problems that plagues a focus on reading is that this activity often appears to be conducted at the expense of other skills (e.g., Chastain, 1970). As descriptions of previewing and the DTRA indicate, a learner-centered approach to reading can integrate other language skills as well. But what about skill integration subsequent to a reading assignment, e.g., its use as an in-class activity? How can a reading passage serve as the basis for expansion of multiple FL abilities when, traditionally, discussion of a text frequently results in the resort to English, even among advanced level students? Our answer is that the teacher must be aware of how to gear instructional focus--the content and context of the speech situation--to expand the language level of the class.

A clear framework of content and context delimit language use. To refer to our example from the outset of this paper, the context of a post office dictates familiarity speakers have with one another and the type of transaction likely to occur. On the level of

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all they know about the subject of the reading to be done, then presents the reading selection, having students put a check next to the items on their lists that are discussed in the text. This activity provides added motivation during reading.

[4] For example, if a student does not know a particular word, the teacher might ask him or her to make an educated guess based on morphological or contextual clues. The teacher can define the word if the student is unsuccessful, but in many cases students will arrive at the word's meaning once he or she focuses on all available clues.

"getting in and out of everyday situations" that transaction will be sentential, e.g., "How much does it cost to mail a package to the United States?"; "How long will it take to deliver by air mail?" When a complication is added, however, the content of the transaction changes and almost inevitably becomes suprasentential. If the package is too large or too expensive to air mail, some auxiliary arrangements must be made. Arrangements involve negotiation. Generally an explanation (the formal feature of subordination in causal sentences) and some deferentiality (the subjunctive of polite requests) are in order. Hence the *ACTFL Guidelines* commence role playing with everyday situations. To test more advanced speakers (i.e., whether or not the speaker can support opinions, persuade or describe in detail), complications in those everyday situations are introduced. In short, the premises about levels for content and function that have been developed in the *Guidelines for Oral Proficiency* (1986) serve as useful benchmarks for text-based activities.

Authentic texts are probably the ideal basis for creating an activity sequence that will afford students practice at a range of functional levels. In such an integrated learning sequence, students engage in a hierarchy of tasks that enable them to progress from (a) words to phrases to sentences, (b) from largely reproduced sentences to created sentences, and (c) from the discourse representing concrete experience to the discourse of abstract ideas. Whether or not the class should be challenged with discourse tasks will depend to some extent on the class level and instructional goals. The point of the integrated learning sequence we are about to illustrate is that the teacher controls the difficulty of the task through designation of its content and functional context, rather than by restricting vocabulary or formal features.

Restricting Sentence Production through Context: The Subject and Object Focuses

Word Level Activities. The second phase of instruction involves re-examining the text, clarifying any unresolved questions, and following-up with a sequence of activities designed to help students make the transition from recognition to partial control and eventual control of the language structures in the reading text. The choice of activities will vary according to students' needs as well as on the relative level of difficulty of the text. Activities might include

word recognition practice, reading strategy practice (Kern, 1988), semantic mapping (Armbruster & Anderson, 1982; Heimlich & Pittelman, 1986), outlining, summary writing, vocabulary study--whatever the teacher feels merits special attention. For example, in the *Veja* text the instructor could map vocabulary under categories of physical and mental characteristics of ideal mates. Once the two lists were established, the class or individual groups could decide on sub-categories such as the value systems implied by choices or divisions into the traditional categories of love in Greek philosophy: agape, caritas, and eros. Such activities not only reinforce vocabulary, they afford speaking opportunities. For more advanced students, such discussions also encourage debate, necessitating commensurate turn-taking or argumentation techniques.

Sentence Replication Activities. A subject focus is an ideal context from which to move from comprehensible input confirmed in lexical items from the text to longer utterances about familiar concepts--the everyday events noted in the *Guidelines*. Thinking and talking about ourselves reflects our most immediate concept schema, that of personal roles and their descriptive features. In this context, speech is restricted to first and second person singular or plural pronouns, verbs expressing feelings or state of being, negation, predicate adjectives, verbal complements, prepositional idioms, and word order of basic sentence types. With the *Veja* text, one such activity might be to "Guess the Perfect Partner." Set up along the lines of "What's my line?" or "Twenty Questions?", students formulate their questions in terms of responses in the *Veja* passage. This would require simple transformations of Portuguese word order for questions and changes in verb morphology (from we to I and you). Answers could, but need not be, complex. Yes/no responses to simple questions are entirely adequate for questions such as "Is your ideal partner your best friend?" "Does he always talk about things quietly?" The discourse frame (function) limits the linguistic frame (formal features) as well.

While linguistic demands in such an exercise are fairly simple, students are evaluating a relatively complex conceptual situation in the target language: juxtaposing other people's language with their own gestalt. Students practice asking simple questions based on textual assertions. Consider how this activity restricts the complexity of the speaking task. Except for the fact that it is contextualized and hence learner-centered, it bears most of the

features of a rote substitution drill. The verb forms reflect the present tense; there will be frequent use of the verb "to be," "to agree," "to want," and limited but meaningful changes of possessive adjectives (your partner versus my partner).

Since the context is self ("I") + activity or state of being, the environment is concrete: the people talking or being asked about themselves. Vocabulary, particularly new nouns and adjectives, can be restricted by game instructions. Options beyond the ideal partner might be: "Think of an ideal pet, an ideal parent, an ideal language teacher." In a "Twenty Questions" variant, one student might decide among the four options. On the basis of answers, the class would decide whether this individual was thinking of an ideal pet, parent, language teacher, or marital partner. Humor is a desirable feature as it enlivens the class and increases the likelihood of learning new vocabulary and language features (e.g., Henning, 1973).

As one variation within those contextual constraints, an instructor can, after a series of "Twenty Questions" change the context from a real "self" being described to an imaginary person ("Pretend you are a movie star"). Such shifts introduce not only a good deal of fun, but also a shift in the speech situation (the content). Similarly, practice in particular formal features can be modified through the communicative setting, merely by recontextualizing. To elicit the future tense, for example, the students ask about a prospective partner (e.g.,"S/he will become more interesting every day"); for plurals, students "become" multiple instead of single entities (a couple is interviewed rather than an individual); for a review of negation and comparison of adjectives the teacher asks students to agree or disagree with the ranking of responses (e.g., "I don't think a partner can get more interesting every day. It's more important to share the same philosophy"). Obviously one would probably not want to engage in more than one or two of these suggested tasks. The point is only to illustrate that authentic reading texts offer multiple possibilities for limited contextual drill of formal features.

Moving Toward Creative Language Use

Sentential Creativity. For a more demanding use of context the instructor moves from the subject focus into subject/object relationships. The demands arise through differences between imagining and articulating from the personal standpoint (first person

pronouns, verb forms) to an impersonal one (third person). Resituating the discussion of ideal partners inevitably increases the number of formal features which students must manipulate. The additional complexities of the object focus are illustrated with the "Twenty Questions" game. Instead of questions based on a "I/you" relationship, speakers must now add the third person and direct objects. Third persons and objects have a wider range of behaviorial and feature options than I and you. To clarify unknown factors more vocabulary (greater specification of detail) and speculation (comparative forms, prepositions of place, alternate word orders for emphasis, indirect objects, use of there is, there are) are required. Students are more likely to ask if one object is larger or smaller than another, or how an individual looks or acts.

Appropriate questions can still be very short and syntactically simple ("Is this person your best friend?" or "Does this person teach?"), but the logical range of potential juxtapositions of nouns and adjectives has been exponentially expanded from "Are you married?" to "Describe your ideal partner." The object focus generally necessitates having the interviewee respond with more than a "yes" or "no" answer. Opportunities for alternative word orders employed for emphasis are more likely, e.g., "Sometimes I like my partner as a person" implying a neutral option and "I sometimes like my partner as a person" implying a possible contingent necessity. Virtually any grammar focus can be decreed by the context itself. Features one doesn't like about a real or hypothetical partner elicits a review of negation options ("No, he never talks about things calmly" as opposed to "She is not a calm person"). Framing the assignment as a retrospective of past partners who have been rejected elicits past tenses of verbs ("S/he thought social relationships were unimportant").[5]

Linking meaning and form helps students monitor their production errors as communicative interference factors rather than personal failings. Teacher interjection will be for purposes of clarification rather than admonitions ("You really mean this person never was calm or just that s/he never talked calmly?"). The training which such comprehension activities provide is, however, farther

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[5] The significance of hearing and practicing word order contrasts for listening comprehension, particularly those not characteristic of L2 students' native language is well established, see, for example, Glisan (1986).

reaching than the immediately stated objective of teaching a grammatical contrast. Even among native speakers, successful communication exchanges demand listener speculation about how to fill in unclearly understood gaps in oral language currently discussed as "speech gambits" (i.e., structured practice in natural discourse). The ability to play with pieces of language information in terms of probable whole meaning is an essential strategy for comprehending input.

This approach to fine tuning cultivates learner awareness that minimal distinctions often signal the intent of speech situations, i.e., whether the speaker is requesting or demanding, being polite or being ironic. These are lessons which cannot be learned in a system in which all formal features are equal. Activities based on authentic texts naturally foreground some grammar features more than others because of their communicative importance. Students who learn the culturally sanitized language of carefully edited textbooks, are unprepared for the fact that, in authentic cultural situations, the identical vocabulary and syntax can mean different things under different circumstances. If the conversation about ideal mates takes place on a talk show, the nuances will be quite different than if virtually the same statements are made in response to a grandchild's questions or in a conversation with a close personal friend. Awareness of contextual frames is the first step in comprehending how such frames shift meaning systems.

It follows from linking fine tuning to meaningful utterances that students need to listen to each other. This listening involves both linguistic and factual recall because understanding information will depend on clear, accurate language. Activities that result in dialog creation are ideal for the subject/object stage (Di Pietro, 1983). They serve to link speaking and listening abilities since the data are restricted to descriptions of concrete objects and activities. Listening as monitoring practice can begin in small group sessions, whenever individual participants act as spokespeople for others in their group, reporting on the subject assigned ("Irene thinks her partner is her best friend. He's called 'Spike.' He is eight months old and gets more interesting every day.").

Later the instructor can ask the class to recall what they know about Irene's dog. Characteristically, the information will be remembered in several ways: "That dog is small. His name is 'Spike.' He's pretty young. I don't remember how old exactly."

Precisely these differences encourage practice in listening carefully to the multiple ways to convey information through language. Monitoring others, then, increases awareness of propositional similarities in dissimilar surface language. Students will learn that "He's called Spike" and "His name is Spike." or "A tiny dog" and "That dog is small" are lexically different, but propositionally similar.

The context of a dialog restricts propositional content and discursive ones as well. The subject/object focus refers to real world people and things. As a result of restricted contextual options, students can generally create simple sentences using the level of vocabulary and syntax that has become comprehensible through previewing and the DTRA exercises, and been practiced in rote fashion in a contextualized drill. Regardless of the authentic text chosen, as long as it deals with topics relevant to real world interests of students, teachers can use this sequence of stages: (1) before reading the text outside of class--word recognition (previewing) to word replication (DTRA); (2) subsequent to reading either as an oral or written task--sentence replication in a minimal transformation drill followed by a dialog creation exercise. These stages ensure that comprehensible input becomes comprehensible output (Swain, 1985). Consequently students can use text language without being enticed into complex translation efforts and resulting malapropisms ("I'm parking ticket" for "I'm fine").

From Concrete Objects to Concrete Visualization

The language level of concrete objects never precludes the use of complex linguistic features, i.e., noun/pronoun substitution, adjective endings, tense, coordinating or subordinating conjunctions. The point is that students rarely need to use these more complex features to communicate. Those linguistic boundaries change, however, when the teacher introduces a context of visualization no matter how concrete. The difference between talking about oneself or tangible reality as opposed to visualizing that same reality, entails introduction of more complexity in the use of formal features. Requirements necessary to narrate and to describe will involve conceptualizing space (comparing size, dimensionality, intensity, necessitating quantifiers, possessives) and time (expressing sequence or hierarchy, requiring tense, first versus

second reference distinctions). Almost inevitably, visualization implies suprasentential discourse.

Before this stage, students have been communicating information within a tangible, fixed environment. Now they will be asked to add a major variable: perception of and expression of a reality anchored in an individual mind (verbal definitions) rather than in the world at large (ostensive definitions of real people, places, objects). Consequently, the visualizations that students imagine and identify will reveal their individual and cultural histories. The difficulties listeners face will be in matching their gestalt of reality with that of another person. Comprehension difficulties will result from concept as well as language mismatch. A major class goal in previewing and DTRA is student awareness of possible mismatch between their concepts and those of the text. Similarly in a verbal exercise students must be aware of differences between their own schemata and textual concepts. Otherwise they will be unable to uncover textual meaning in texts with unfamiliar schemata.[6]

Visualization Focus

Visualization activities use pictures or scenarios (picture sequences). These pictures should be of two kinds: those originating in the mind of the student and those originating in an external source. Visualization activities provide an interim step between language use anchored in concrete and verifiable activity on the one hand and total abstraction on the other. A person's visual image is an interpretation of tangible reality. If two students are asked to draw a devoted couple, whether one draws a couple holding hands and the other two people sitting next to each other, is a matter of detail. Even if explicit directions are given ("Draw a couple walking under a tree and holding hands"), no two students will draw the same tree or the same figures. How people visualize depth and details of relationships varies just as our surface language varies even though we share the same underlying proposition. For example, do trees have needles or leaves; are they bushy or thin; are branches visible or not? The fact that linguistic meaning is not

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[6] For a comprehensive guide to structuring speech gambits in the classroom, see Kramsch (1981). For research and theory, see the anthology Kommunikation im Klassenzimmer und Fremdsprachenlernen (1983).

absolute and is, in actual practice, a result of cultural assumptions, is perhaps most readily seen in the variety of visualizations that result from picture drawing exercises.

When American students are instructed to draw a railway station, for example, although the teacher may specify many of the details ("There are three sets of tracks. In front of these tracks which run parallel to the building is a large platform on which several people are standing. There is a large clock facing the platform"), in actual practice cultural preconceptions will become evident. Unless they live on the East coast, or in large cities, student drawings will probably depict a relatively small, rural commuter station. The assumption of freight rather than heavy passenger service use may be reflected in the kinds of cars drawn and the like. Such variance introduces cultural features as perceptual distinctions and prepares students for the realization that even shared cultural artifacts are not necessarily subject to identical applications or functions. To fine tune comprehension and point out cultural differences, the instructor can compare the drawings: "John drew a very large clock on one train platform. Most European train stations have a clock on each platform, since often trains arrive at close to the same time and travellers cannot see from one platform to the other."

Drawing tasks are neither juvenile nor inappropriate for adults. First, as is the case with previewing and DTRA, drawing puts no one "on the spot." Second, from a discursive standpoint, this is a task which confirms comprehension of detail. Consider the alternatives for a moment. What happens when interrogative questions are asked ("How many trees are in the yard?")? The correct answer provides a piece of meaning rather than a system of relationships ("How are the trees arranged? Which are larger? Which shade the house?"). In a drawing task, the teacher rewards comprehension of relationships. A missed detail will not vitiate the total picture. Instead of an absolute standard of right or wrong, most students experience the validity of variations in their completed executions--just as variation in textual inferences can have their validity. With texts more concrete than the *Veja* sample which deals mainly with generalizations about relationships, comparison of student drawings reveals details which are missed or incorrectly understood. Not least of all, visualization fosters learning and retention of language and information.

The Grammar of Visualization

Perspective about relationships, not a necessary feature of either a subject or subject/object focus, is central to grasping someone else's visualized message. As listeners, we have to know whether we are hearing about a close-up or a wide lens shot, an aerial picture or a child's eye view. Otherwise the information makes no sense. An aerial photo shows Racine, Wisconsin, as "in close proximity to" Chicago. A five-year-old who travels by bus to visit Grandma Elly, may conclude that the two cities are light years distant. Only if the listener understands the message perspective will these discrepancies make sense. And to understand someone else's views, the grammar of perspective ("I think that . . .") is necessary. Visualization introduces relationships: main clause contrasts ("My clock is small, but it is easy to read"), the use of "that" in subordination and relative clauses ("I see that your clock is large. My clock, which is smaller, looks funny"), referential structures that express contrasts ("There are three clocks, but they aren't all the same size") and referential structures that express relativity ("There is a large clock which reads 1 p.m."). In exercises using text pictures, the choice of grammar or syntax and vocabulary is expanded considerably for the students because they must express their own speech intentions within a text or an environment designated by the teacher. The descriptive language used in previous real-world contexts no longer suffices.

Activities and Evaluation

After drawing practice directed by the teacher, visualization exercises can be adapted from texts. Consider a few of the integrative possibilities: One student can read a description aloud while a second student draws what is understood on the blackboard; different groups in the class can be assigned pictures from various episodes of a reading text; groups can be told to vary the text version, thereby introducing a test of comprehension if the class must identify the incorrect or extraneous feature ("The couple was walking, not sitting down" or "There is no bench under the tree").

If the student fails to recreate a scene from a passage the way others in the class envision it, the class exercise will prompt negotiation of meanings between text and various perceptions by various students. Moreover, a discussion will develop in class about the reasons for differing visualizations (due to

misunderstanding of schema? vocabulary? syntax?). Such a discussion arises out of curiosity about why people see things differently--a situation that corresponds to ordinary communication in real life. Yet, since the environment and the information in the conversation remains restricted within a particular range of illustration, the language competence in such discussions will revolve around the students' realization of their personal language intents.

Drawings can encourage beginning students to concentrate on an aspect of language learning essential for successful reading comprehension: a grasp of relationships. They also afford opportunities to weigh comprehension vis à vis production. The teacher will have to decide whether a student who spells cuple, but draws two people walking under a tree should receive an equivalent or higher grade than the student who spells couple correctly, but draws two people sitting under a tree. In either case, consistent rewards for precision in comprehension as well as precision in formal production cannot be overemphasized in an acquisition approach. If we believe comprehensible input is essential, grading systems must reflect this conviction in terms of consistent weighting accurate comprehension as well as accuracy in formal language usage. In this case, neither student is exactly correct, but a correctly placed, albeit misspelled, couple may be communicatively more valuable than two people in the wrong place in the visualization.

Using Visualization in the Class Hour

Initial introduction to visualization correlates logically with introduction to reading, since the processes of speculation--the answer to the question "what alternative reality is being constructed here?"--are similar conceptual problems. Having students describe pictures that correspond to short reading texts is, then, an excellent introduction to reading on several counts. Assuming an accurate picture/text correspondence, students will be formulating preliminary reading hypotheses in identifying features of a picture. Due to its level of abstraction, assigning a picture from a magazine or scrapbook is probably more appropriate for the *Veja* text than a drawing. Students can easily select pictures that represent concrete realizations of the abstract values suggested by the text. Such an assignment lets students link textual generalizations to their own concrete inferences. Sample Portuguese language use might be as

follows: "I chose a picture of a young couple playing pool with a bunch of other people. That shows how an enduring relationship is important in establishing social ties" or "I chose a couple doing housework together. They share the same philosophy of life." Such a drawing assignment forces students to connect important vocabulary of the text with logical inferences. Readers review vocabulary and syntax from the passage in terms of their own picture of the textual world, an exercise in depth of processing.

With visualization activities conducted along the lines described here, students can begin speaking and writing at the suprasentential level yet refer to an accessible version of their spoken communication. Pictures reveal individual differences and when the class is held accountable for those differences through verbal recall or writing, listening comprehension refers to the immediate classroom rather than textual reality, always a stage removed from cognitive as well as linguistic access. This stage affords students practice in language use at the level of relating ideas in multiple sentences. Students can interpret authentic texts in Portuguese if they have progressed from comprehension to language production in the sequence suggested here: sequenced intermediate steps from word recognition to word production, sentence replication to sentence creativity and discursive description of a visual representation of the real-world. Having mastered these stages, students will find the final stage, expression of opinion or interpretation, a feasible task. Without that preparation, they confront an insurmountable gap between sentential and suprasentential, linguistic representation of the real world and the ability to articulate abstract ideas.

Summary: The Case for Sequencing Reading Activities in the Classroom

In terms of a learner-centered approach to FL teaching, all three activities--previewing DRTA, and the language production sequence--promote the reading processes of the student. They encourage students (1) to set their own purpose for reading, (2) to read actively in order to test their own hypotheses, and (3) to utilize the language of the text to express themselves in everyday and progressively more abstract settings. Furthermore, all three motivate students to speak spontaneously in the target language. Because justification of a response, and not the "one right answer"

is of importance, students are free to exchange, develop, and modify their ideas in a cooperative atmosphere.

Since previewing and DTRA activities systematically encourage prediction, hypothesis testing, and active use of background knowledge, FL readers are given guided practice in using "top-down" (i.e., concept-driven) processing strategies. Readers often tend to read FL texts in a "bottom-up" (i.e., word-by-word) fashion (Cziko, 1980; Kern, 1988; Muchisky, 1983). Consequently such practice is important in developing flexibility in processing a text. In input activities, as in the language production sequence, readers ask questions of the text and of themselves. Thus the sequence from previewing to production fosters self-monitoring of comprehension--an important component of effective reading (Brown, 1980).

The three approaches also accommodate individual differences among readers. Students who remain silent are not penalized--they may listen and learn from their peers who may have had less difficulty reading the text. Because students are given time to think about information and to share ideas and hypotheses with others when they choose to, performance anxiety is minimized. In the language production tasks suggested here, creation of language can be undertaken in written work as well, thereby allowing reticent students more time to reflect about their verbalizations than is available to them during a spontaneous discussion. Common to all three approaches is a non-threatening, positive affective environment, an important factor in promoting students' comprehension.

The divergent questions used in the three sequences allow for cognitive processing, linguistic creativity, and affective response to a text. Readers base predictions and hypotheses and eventual verbalizations not only on information derived from the text but also on their personal experience and affective impressions. Furthermore, the activities elicit more than isolated factual information from the text. Prediction of outcomes in previewing and DTRA ("What do you think will happen next?") taps comprehension at the interpretive level, while the appended "why?" question requires justification of the prediction, therefore tapping the applicative level of comprehension in preparation for eventual discourse or written work after the passage has been read.

Finally, because skills instruction is placed after comprehension and discussion of the text, the teacher communicates to students that comprehension, and not manipulation of language forms, is the initial goal of reading. Students also experience the fact that they can comprehend a text without understanding every word and every grammatical structure. A passage's concepts can be grasped without command of all the nuances of vocabulary, idiomatic expressions, or formal linguistic features. Yet precisely because partial understanding can take place, the teacher can use the text afterwards as a meaningful context with which to clarify unfamiliar vocabulary, idioms, and formal features. Often such questions are raised by the students themselves, thereby increasing the relevance of such explanations.

If reading is a thinking process in which hypotheses are made and tested, and information is analyzed, synthesized and evaluated based on the reader's background knowledge, then FL instruction must foster these behaviors. To do so we use techniques that are sensitive to the reader's attitude, motivation, confidence, and level of anxiety. The traditional focus of FL reading instruction on comprehension product must be expanded to include development of comprehension processes and their relationship to language use.

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Teaching and Testing an Expository Text

JAMES F. LEE
University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign

The role of reading and the function of reading passages in foreign language curricula can be characterized by one or a combination of the following: (1) a format for presenting grammatical structures and vocabulary in context; (2) a common basis for conversation and oral activities; and less commonly, (3) a language skill to be developed through instruction just as speaking, listening, and writing are. Commercial materials espouse these functions in one form or another. The second edition of *Cara a cara* has a twofold purpose: "(1) to develop reading skills through the use of carefully graded selections that present themes of human and cultural interest, and (2) to develop communication skills through activities that focus on meaningful personal communication . . . There are eighteen chapters in *Cara a cara*, second edition, arranged in three levels. Level I employs the present tense and commands. Level II adds the preterite, imperfect, and progressive tenses" (Ratliff et al, 1982: viii). Grading reading passages according to the verb tenses used is a common feature of reading textbooks. "Because the verb tenses are the most difficult aspect of Spanish, the chapters of *Ocho mundos* are organized around the step-by-step introduction of the Spanish verb tenses. The first two chapters use only the present tense; the third, present and preterite; the fourth, present, preterite, and imperfect; and so on . . . A glance at the Table of Contents will show which tenses are presented in each article. The last two chapters are devoted to the subjunctive, since these tenses are a difficult but essential part of a reading mastery of Spanish, and it is often hard to find appropriate elementary readings illustrating their uses" (Wegman, 1986: 5).

While both *Cara a cara* and *Ocho mundos* are good books, the implication is that reading comprehension is achieved by putting together grammatical cues. Such a view of reading espouses a structuralist perspective in which importance is placed on the text and its characteristics. Meaning is seen to reside in the text itself and the role of the readers and their characteristics are minimized. The alternate view that reading comprehension is achieved by putting together what the readers already know with the incoming information presented in the text is an information processing

perspective. In an information processing framework, importance is placed on the readers and their characteristics since the readers and their knowledge bases interact with the text and its information base. The result of this interaction of the readers' knowledge bases and the textual information base is that meaning is both found in the text and created by the readers.

Developing non-native reading ability through instruction characterizes a current trend in foreign language instruction. Another trend is to utilize authentic or natural texts; that is, texts written by native speakers for a native speaking audience. Note the following examples, also from commercially prepared materials. "*Entre líneas* . . . focusses on a single skill: reading. The varied readings, exercises, and other information will help you learn to read better in Spanish . . . the goal of this book is to help you read *real* materials, not readings composed just for beginners . . . The readings have not been altered; they appear just as they did in the original sources" (Martin, 1987: i).

A similar approach to reading is found in Young and Wolf (1989). "*Esquemas* is a strategies-oriented reader. Reading is practiced in the context of teaching strategies. The strategies in this book go from concrete to abstract . . . *Esquemas* uses authentic (non-simplified) texts as primary reading sources. The texts selected were considered of high interest to students. Students are *not* expected to read the passages word for word and understand every word they read" (p. i).

Utilizing authentic texts, teaching reading for reading's sake, and incorporating reading into the curriculum represent the direction in which introductory foreign language instruction is moving. This change in instructional focus represents an application of theory to practice. The theory is called *schema theory* and is a theory of how knowledge is organized, activated, and accessed. A fundamental principle of schema theory is that meaning is both found in the text and created by the reader. The text and the reader, however, are not the only two factors contributing to comprehension. In exploring questions of comprehension, we must also look to two other factors, criterial tasks (what tasks the learners are required to perform) and contextual factors (e.g., how reading is treated in the curriculum, the quantity and quality of reading instruction, the learner's attitude toward reading). Reader characteristics, texts, criterial tasks, and contextual factors must all be considered in

accounting for comprehension. These four factors are all connected, one to each of the others, indicating that each can influence one or a combination of the others (see Bransford, 1979 for an expanded treatment on the interplay of these four factors in comprehension).

The remainder of this article expands on two of the features of the model--contextual factors and criterial tasks. Under the rubric of contextual factors, a lesson framework for teaching expository texts is described. Under the rubric of criterial tasks, an approach to testing is described. These frameworks are presented in general terms but specific reference is made to a particular text, "A química da união duradoura," provided in the Appendix.

Teaching an Expository Text

In this section, a framework for teaching reading is presented by means of which the role of reading in the curriculum can be established. Reading is not viewed as a context for presenting or reviewing vocabulary and grammar; rather, reading is a component of the curriculum. The role of reading in the curriculum is twofold. First, it is a way of providing input so that one of the goals of reading instruction is to make the input comprehensible. Second, reading serves an educational function in which the learners are expected to learn from the materials they read. Reading is for reading's sake in a process-oriented, reading-to-learn framework.

Since reading is for reading's sake, instruction in reading serves to encourage the readers not to translate from Portuguese to English during reading but rather to read Portuguese as Portuguese. Furthermore, the reading exercises developed for teaching and testing purposes intend to promote conceptual development in the learners. Under these circumstances, the task of reading becomes that of the integration of knowledge sources rather than the mere demonstration of reading subskills. The goal of this orientation toward non-native reading is to equate reading with thinking and learning (for an expanded treatment of reading instruction see Bernhardt, 1986 and Lee, 1988).

The choice of text for teaching is not based on any hierarchy of text types but rather on topic, potential interest to the learners, and length. Reading instruction can be related to a basal textbook by selecting topically related authentic texts. The topic need not be directly related but only marginally so that the text is of high interest

to the learners. Length is a consideration in text selection. The length of the text is related to the amount of experience the learners have with the target language. As a general consideration, the lesser the learners' experience with the target language the shorter the passage. However, longer passages can also be presented to beginning learners if the passage is not particularly dense with information and/or if the tasks the learners are asked to perform are appropriate to their level of language development (Dubin, Eskey, & Grabe, 1986 present a reading curriculum in which the time allotted to perform reading tasks decreases as the readers become more experienced). One factor that does not enter in the decision making process is the grammatical structures found in the text. While many believe that learners cannot comprehend grammatical structures they have not been taught, this is simply not true. The context in which the untaught structures are used provide clues to their meaning (in Lee, 1987, this principle was demonstrated for the Spanish subjunctive).

While each text must be treated individually, taking into consideration its unique characteristics, the following lesson framework is offered as a means of organizing reading instruction (0ther frameworks have also been proposed. See, for example, Phillips, 1984.). The remainder of this section of the article expands and explains the framework.

Four Phase Lesson Framework for Teaching Expository Texts

Phase I: Approaching the Text
1. Activate learners' prior knowledge;
2. Have learners draw on appropriate sources of knowledge and information;
3. Elicit learner responses until major points of the text are drawn out.

Phase II: First Reading to Establish Expectations
1. Delineate content of text;
2. Eliminate inappropriate sources of knowledge and information;
3. Guide and limit the learners' interaction with the text.

Phase III: Second Reading to Organize the Information
1. Delineate the content of the text the learners are to know and learn about;
2. Provide the organization into which learners structure the information.

Phase IV: Reader Response
1. Integrate the readers' knowledge bases with the textual information base;
2. Have learners do with the text what the author intends native readers to do with the text.

Phase I: Approaching the Text

The first phase of the lesson is completely instructor-fronted and is characterized by very directed activities. Possible activities include:

A. Before the learners have been given the text, their knowledge of the general topic treated in the text can be heightened. The instructor writes the topic on the board in Portuguese, e.g., a good marriage. The learners are asked to generate words, concepts, and ideas they associate with the topic. The instructor numbers and writes each contribution on the board, writing the learners' contributions in correct Portuguese. Do not erase the board until after phase II has been carried out.
The instructor is familiar with the content of the text so that s/he can continue to elicit information from the learners until most if not all major points of the text are brought out. Also, the instructor can rephrase the learners' contributions so that the wording matches that in the text, thus facilitating comprehension. For example, if a learner offers that John McEnroe's wife is Tatum O'Neil, the instructor could write the John McEnroe married Tatum O'Neil if the latter matched the phrasing in the text.

B. Give the text to the learners. Direct them to examine only the title, subtitles, pictures, captions, and headings. The learners are to determine from

these sources and these sources only, what kind of information will be found in the text and what point(s) the author will make in the text.

For many expository passages, the author is attempting to argue a particular point. The titles and subtitles frequently allude to the point to be made. Therefore, focussing the learners' attention to these sources of information builds appropriate expectations for what content is treated in the text. Activity B can be done in addition to activity A or in place of it; the decision is text-dependent. If activity B is carried out, then the possible points the author will make should also be numbered and written on the board.

C. The two previous activities have dealt with the content of the text. Activity C focusses the learners on certain extratextual sources of information. Have the learners make predictions about the intended audience of the text, the type of magazine it was published in, the level of sophistication of the audience, and what American magazine might publish a similar work.

By focussing the learners on the intended audience and the source of the text, they will approach the text with clearer expectations for how as well as what information will be presented and treated. The expectations we have are not always conscious but they are real. For example, people do not have the same set of expectations for reading an article in a tabloid as they do for an article in a Pulitzer Prize winning newspaper. We may not be conscious of how differently we approach these texts, but we certainly do not equate them.

Phase II: A First Reading to Establish Expectations

Phase II serves to delineate the content of the passage and to determine which of the hypotheses generated in phase I were accurate.

A. The instructor has enumerated the learner-generated words, concepts, and ideas on the board. Learners are now instructed to read the text very

quickly to determine which of the items are actually in the text and which are not. The learners' task is very limited. Their purpose for reading the text is very clearly defined for them. Their interaction with the content of the text is, at this point, limited so that they are not overwhelmed by the text.

After the learners have quickly read over the text, the instructor asks the learners whether or not each of the items on the board was in the text. What is not in the text is erased. At this point, no assessment of the information is made; the instructor does not ask for details about any of the items in the text. The concern is only for what aspects of the topic the author treats and not what the author says about the topic.

B. Asses the degree to which the titles, pictures, captions and headings are related to the content of the text. Does the author make the points that the learners predicted would be made based on these sources of information? The titles, subtitles, etc., are either reliable and relevant sources of information or they are not.

C. Have the learners either confirm or reject the hypotheses they made regarding the intended audience of the text, their level of sophistication, and the type of magazine that published the text.

D. Word deductions. Certain key concepts should be made available to the learners so that they comprehend as much of the text as possible. For example, the word *duradoura* is in the title of the text, is repeated in various forms throughout, and is key to comprehending the text. That *duradoura* refers to *casamento* is also a key concept. To focus the learners on these words can be achieved through a word deduction exercise. The instructor can write these words on the board and guide the learners to read the text for the sole purpose of deducing their meaning. Alternately, the instructor could have a

handout prepared in which these words are presented in the sentences and contexts in which they appear in the text.

In order to establish the appropriate set of expectations for the content, the learners should be aware that the text is reporting research findings and is not advice for the lovelorn. Through word deduction exercises, the learners can be focussed on such words as *pesquisa* , *campo investigativo* , and *entrevistou* .

Phase III:
A Second Reading to Organize the Information

In phases I and II, the learners interacted with the text as a whole, extracting very general information. In phase III, the learners are directed toward the information the instructor wants them to learn from the text. That is, whatever the learners are supposed to retain and remember from this text is now delineated in phase III. The kinds of activities that are appropriate for this phase of the lesson are best classified as information-gathering exercises. Possible activities include:

A. Linguistic responses. The learners are required, individually, in groups or as a whole class, to fill in a table, chart or diagram. The instructor provides them the chart with appropriate headings under which to organize the textual information base. The headings can be single words that represent important concepts presented in the text.

B. Non-linguistic responses. The learners are required to draw or label charts or diagrams based on the textual information base or to match headings with different parts of the text. The instructor provides the title of the chart to be drawn or the headings to match to the text.

Note the following example for the text, "A química da união duradoura" (more examples of these types of responses can be found in Grellet, 1981). A linguistic response to the exercise would require the learners to write in their own words appropriate answers.

A non-linguistic response would require the learners to place a number under the correct heading.

Fill in the following table by organizing the fifteen *mais citadas respostas* into one of the following three categories.

Society	Intimacy	Partnership

Phase IV: Reader Response

In this final phase of the lesson, the learners relate the textual information base they organized in phase III to their own knowledge bases. There are two ways in which this goal might be carried out. First, the learners evaluate and assess the information they have learned from the text based on their own experiences and from their own perspectives. This is the activity presented in the next section on testing an expository text (see also Swaffar & Wältermann, 1988 for pattern questions that encourage conceptual processing). Second, learners do with the text what the author intended native readers to do with the text. For example, if presented a text that describes how to change your food regimen to be more healthy, then the learners would be asked to describe their current food regimen and then change it according to the information in the text. If presented a text that describes the physical and emotional effects of various types of teas, then the learners would be asked to choose teas that matched their physical and emotional states.

Testing an Expository Passage

There is an assumption underlying the test of reading presented in this section of the article. Testing is assumed to be part of the educational enterprise or a learning experience for the test-takers. The test reflects the teaching process and is an extension of it. Testing falls under the rubric of Bransford's criterial tasks and as

shown in the model, is interrelated with teaching. A test or testing procedures in general are not independent of a pedagogy. To phrase the concepts as succintly as possible, test what you teach and test consistently with the way you teach.

The test is divided into four distinct parts each functioning in a parallel way to the four phases of the lesson framework presented above. Each part contains several different exercises from among which to choose. The test items in parts A, B, and C range in terms of how much the learners themselves are required to produce in the target language. The items in pan D are all production intensive since this section functions to draw together the readers' knowledge bases with the textual information base. Time constraints may determine that the items of lesser production are chosen whenever possible. The test appears below and is followed by a description and explanation.

[*A appears midway through the examination. At the time they do A, learners are unaware that they will use this section later. You may wish to not grade this section but rather treat it as a portion of the follow up section in part D.*]

A. Relationships

1. In a lifetime we establish many kinds of relationships such as parent-child, employer-employee, best friends, couples. Based on your own relationships or on those of people you know, make five statements that characterize what you would consider to be a "good" relationship.

[*Suggestion: it may take learners a great deal of time to think of and produce five items. You might consider just three. You might consider the following as an option.*]

2. Following are five statements about the relationship between husbands and wives. On a scale of 1-5, rank the five statements from most important (=1) to least important (=5).

_____ Meu marido é meu melhor amigo.
Minha esposa é minha melhor amiga.

_____ Temos objetivos comuns na vida.

_____ Conseguimos discutir sempre sem perder a calma.

_____ Um casamento duradouro é importante para a estabilidade social.

_____ Concordamos quanto a como e com que freqüência fazer demonstrações de carinho.

[*Exercises B, C, and D appear sequentially as the last segment of a one hour, in class exam.*]

B. Words and Structures

1. The underlined words in the following three phrases all have the same root. What do these words mean in English?

   a. A química da união duradoura
   b. Jeannette e Robert decidiram tentar explicar por que os casamentos duram.
   c. Um casamento duradouro é importante para a estabilidade social.

2. Find a synonym for casamento : _____

3. Find the one word that is used to refer to "*marido + esposa* :"
   _____

4. Which of the following words in the passage is used to refer to an "investigation/research study?"

   a. preencheu b. pesquisa c. entrevistou d. bem sucedido

C. Passage Content

To the reader: When you read the *mais citadas respostas*, you will note a great deal of overlap between what the women and men say about each other and their marriages. In fact, thirteen of the fifteen are the same!

1. Read the *respostas* listed below. Circle the number of the one that is least like the other two. (The numbers refer to what *as mulheres* cite.)

a. 1, 11, 12
b. 9, 10, 14
c. 3, 7, 15
d. 5, 12, 13

2. The sentences below are re-wordings that combine the ideas behind two of the *respostas* cited by *as mulheres*. Write the numbers of the two *respostas* that have been combined.

a. We know how to have fun together. _____ _____

b. We do not engage in extramarital affairs. _____ _____

3. Relate the thoughts behind the following *respostas* by writing one summary sentence.

a. 10, 14:
b. 1, 15:
c. 3, 7:

[*Suggestion: You can choose among these three exercises. Keep in mind that the first one would take less time to complete than the second two. The third will probably be easier to complete than the second since the second exercise requires some second guessing. You might use the items in #2 as examples for #3.*]

D. Reader Response

Respond to the following by writing a well constructed paragraph.

1. The responses of the women and men are different on only two counts. *As mulheres* uniquely cite 12 and 13. *Os homens* uniquely cite 14 and 15. Are these serious differences? Why or why not? To what do you attribute these discrepancies?

2. In a previous section, you listed five characteristics of a "good" relationship. What *respostas* do your five characteristics correspond to? Are they extremely different? Is there a fundamental similarity among all good relationships that transcends marriage vows?

3. In a previous section you ordered the importance of five statements about married couples. Compare your order with the order in the reading. To what extent are they similar? On what basis did you decide "importance?" On what basis do you think the 351 couples in the passage gave their responses?

[*Suggestion: provide these as an option. The inclusion of two or three depends on the earlier part of the exam.*]

The four parts of the test work with both reader and text characteristics. Following is a description of the function of each part of the test and the intent of each individual exercise. Phase I of the lesson framework is called Approaching the Topic and Part A of the test, called Relationships, function as ways to approach the topic of the text. In part A, the individual items activate the readers' background knowledge. By heightening their awareness of the topic, the learners are better prepared to process the content of the passage (the effects of pre-reading activities and appropriately activated background knowledge have been shown in Hudson, 1982 and Lee, 1986, respectively). The two exercises in A are different in terms of how directly they relate to the passage content with the first one being less direct than the second. In A.1, the rather general topic of relationships is taken up. On the other hand, the very statements that appear in the passage appear in A.2. It is suggested that part A not appear on the test adjacent to the reading sections. The learners are dealing with the passage content without being aware of it and in a context that will have a bearing on what they eventually learn from their reading.

Phase II of the lesson framework functions to establish appropriate expectations and part B of the test serves to delimit some key concepts of the passage. The four items in B are all of the word deduction type. The choice of which words/concepts to test depends on the value of the word in establishing appropriate expectations for the text. It may be noted that the learners are asked

to respond in their native language to the word deductions. It was stated above that exercises and formats are developed that encourage the learners not to translate from Portuguese to English during reading. Yet the test items B.1 and B.4 seem to be inconsistent with that position. First, items B.2 and B.3 have the learners working all in the target language. Second, the overriding concern is that items B.1 and B.4 help establish appropriate expectations for the content, both topic (*casamento duradouro*) and treatment (*resultados da pesquisa*). Since the role of reading in the curriculum is not related to the presentation and practice of particular vocabulary or grammar, learners must be taught how to extract meaning from the words in the text. It may be possible, depending on the learners' vocabulary to offer them a list of words in Portuguese from among which they choose the nearest synonym. For example, a near synonym for *duradoura* might be *muito tempo* which would be one of four choices.

Part B of the test is the first section for which the learners actually work with the passage itself. The interaction that the learners have with the text at this point is quite limited and purposefully focussed. We have only begun to allow the learners to build their representations of the textual information base. The four exercises in B work almost exclusively with the first part of the text whereas the exercises in part C work with the second part.

Phase III of the lesson framework is called organizing the information. Part C, Passage Content, is comprised of items that have the learners organizing information. The three items demand that learners interrelate the information presented in the last part of the text such that they assess one bit of information, not discretely, but in terms of the other bits of information in the text. They assess the information in such a way that they build up a concept of similar and different relations between and among ideas. Part C, like B, is rather guided and focussed.

Part D, Reader Response, is comprised of items that maximize the learners' contribution to the reading process. Time is a factor in part D since the learners must think through what and how they will respond to the items. Additionally, they will be writing in Portuguese which is slower than responding in their native language.

An important and crucial feature of the test is that parts A and D are interrelated. Part D makes reference to the learners'

performance in A. Interrelating parts A and D accomplishes two things. First, the learners see the connection between a pre-reading activity and a post-reading assessment task. The exercises demonstrate to the learners that how they approach the reading relates to what they extract from the text. Second, a pre-reading activity on the test validates in-class instruction in pre-reading activities. Testing reflects and extends instruction.

Conclusion

Reading materials, instruction, and the role of reading in the foreign language curriculum have undergone a shift in the last few years. Materials are now "authentic," natural texts. Instruction is oriented toward gaining meaning from the materials. The role of reading is no longer as a context of presenting or reviewing vocabulary and grammar but is a form of input for language development and a means for learning new information. Moreover, testing formats parallel instructional ones, thereby reinforcing and validating the kind of instruction offered.

In this article, a four-phase lesson framework for teaching expository texts was described. A parallel four-phase approach to testing was also described. Teaching and testing reading were presented in such a way as to facilitate learners' comprehension of a text. While the first three phases of teaching and testing guide, direct, and focus the learners' interaction with the text, the final phase maximizes the readers' contribution to the process of creating meaning. Working within a schema-theoretic framework and an interactive model, reading itself is not, and therefore testing can not be limited to the mere extraction of the textual information base. Reading and the testing of reading must allow for the creation of meaning by the readers themselves. Both the instructional and test items provided are examples of certain ways to work a text in a meaningful, concept-driven way, allowing the learners to create meaning through purposeful interaction with the text.

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PART IV: PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE TEACHING FOR SPANISH SPEAKERS

Nasal Vowels, the Case of Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish: Description and Classroom Application. [1]

ANTÔNIO R.M. SIMÕES
University of Kansas

Introduction

Three main points will be discussed here: first, the paper will be situated historically and theoretically in reference to current teaching methods in the United States; second, a brief survey of the phonology of Brazilian Portuguese will follow, particularly the description of nasal vowels; and finally, classroom application based on this description will be offered.

Since the proposed classroom application of teaching pronunciation will inevitably involve a mechanical approach -- namely structural--it is necessary to clarify my position in the conflict between structural and communicative competence approaches. Moreover, in terms of *application* the present paper does not attempt to espouse a particular trend of language teaching. The use of one or a combination of various approaches in a classroom is a decision that each instructor must make when planning a class. If one has to choose a *model* for a specific investigation, then espousing a single theoretical framework is more plausible.

Today we are faced with a conflict among methodologists in the area of foreign language teaching, especially between ACTFL oral proficiency oriented and communicative competence methodologists. Because the present work suggests teaching techniques that develop from a structural view of language as applied to a communicative competence view, ideas presented may be an easy target for both sides. It will be shown that a combination

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[1] This paper has been written as part of the Project Alcance at the University of Texas at Austin to produce teaching materials for Portuguese.

I would like to acknowledge the helpful advice I received from Juliette Blevins.

of approaches is possible and that both approaches have advantages as well as disadvantages. Before proceeding, however, it will be helpful to give a brief look into historical and theoretical developments in linguistic studies.

The development of linguistic research over the last century shows that conflicts are not new. As presented in Byron (1970), a series of schools of thought, from the neogrammmarians to present day linguistic studies, have brought useful and explanatory tools through their particular method to language phenomena until then confusingly explained or not explained at all. Even with these benefits, at times harsh conflicts have permeated each rise and fall of a school. If the neogrammarians sinned by their atomistic and taxonomic approach, they brought through these same faults explanations of language irregularities that had not been explained before. Although structural linguists avoided dealing with semantics and approached linguistic analysis too mechanically, they developed an awareness of the interdependence of structures within a language. Using structural method, Bloomfield was able to study a great deal of indigenous languages, a perhaps otherwise impossible task to be done at the time. Most of us witnessed the benefits brought by Chomsky in making the study of language formal and undertaking the task of studying the creative aspect of language and semantics. The work of Chomsky was limited to the study of linguistics at sentence level. Halliday's model (1964; 1976) has attracted language teachers because its scope, compared to that of Chomsky, for example, reaches beyond the boundaries of sentences. More recently, the works in VanPatten, Dvorak, and Lee (1987) indicate that we are entering a period of textual and therefore communicative competence language teaching in the US as opposed to a structural and sentence limited teaching approach.

As a language teacher one feels attracted by the possibilities of a communicative competence approach, but at the same time would like to feel free to use or filter out any advantages and disadvantages a given method has to offer. For instance, in the case of teaching a language in comparison with another language, it is more efficient and economical to resort at first to a structural approach and then use some of the developments in communicative competence as well as proficiency-oriented methods. A structural approach is more economical and efficient because it helps us to compare and list structural differences between Spanish and

Portuguese. This anticipated knowledge of Spanish and Portuguese differences established by a structural approach, saves enormous time in designing a class for the student familiar with both languages. My understanding of the communicative competence approach makes it difficult to see how a purely communicative approach can replace a structural approach in pinpointing these significant differences between Spanish and Portuguese. A communicative competence approach does not presuppose this knowledge on the part of these students. It goes without saying that testing will have to take into consideration the approach or combination of approaches chosen.

A Brief Survey on the Phonology of Brazilian Portuguese Compared to Spanish

Classroom experience with the teaching of Portuguese to students whose first language is Spanish and to students who have studied Spanish for at least four semesters has shown that a major difficulty faced by these students is pronunciation. Descriptions of Portuguese (Head, 1964; Mattoso Câmara, 1977; Parkinson, 1988), Spanish (Quilis y Fernández, 1979; Green, 1988), as well as Portuguese textbooks (Ellison et al, 1971; Ulsh, 1971) have indicated that the acquisition of the Portuguese phonological system is difficult. To my knowledge there has been no attempt to propose a hierarchy of difficulty within the phonological component for these students. The present paper proposes the establishment at the phonological level of a hierarchy of acquisition for the Portuguese vowels by Spanish-familiar students, and a format that should serve as a sample of how to create efficient means to teach the sounds of Portuguese. Since the teaching of the most difficult set of vowels, i.e., the open vowels /e/ and /o,/, has been treated elsewhere (Simões, forthcoming), we focus here on the nasal vowels.

There are good reasons for attempting to work with Brazilian Portuguese (hereinafter BP) nasal vowels. One of them is that although students can comfortably mimic nasal vowels after some minutes of practice, their perceptual identification of nasals needs to be developed. Moreover, three semesters of classroom observation done in the present investigation have shown that students lose the ability to mimic as fast as they acquire it. Another reason is that instructors of Portuguese know that many teaching skills for pronunciation in Portuguese may be successfully adapted from skills

developed for other languages such as English, French, Spanish, and so forth. Teaching drills are difficult to find in the case of nasal vowels with the exception of a few French textbooks.

While explanations of sound articulation are generally helpful to teachers and students of language, explanations of how nasal vowels are produced are not efficient. One reason is that one cannot directly control the production of nasals *in the ways other sounds are controlled.* As we have seen repeatedly in studies on phonetics (Ladefoged, 1975; Landercy and Renard (1977), and so on), nasal sounds are produced by lowering part of the soft palate. Students would not be able to understand an instructor who asked them: "Say /õ/ by lowering part of your soft palate," even if the instructor had a nasal configuration depicted. At best the instructor could ask the student to say /õ/ by letting the sound out through the nose. One cannot, however, control soft palate movements in the way the jaws, tongue and lips are controlled.

Nasal sounds are perceived differently from speaker to speaker. In principle, any sound is nasalized to different degrees of nasalization when immediately followed by another nasal sound. Perceiving and identifying nasal sounds in BP are essential to their acquisition.

Words like

1. [sí^{n}.ta] Spn *cinta*, Eng "cassette tape"

contrasted with

2. [sí.ta] Spn *cita*, Eng "appointment"

should not mislead teachers to think that Spanish has nasal vowels in the same sense BP has. Observing how nasal sounds are produced and perceived in Spanish becomes more evident when we deal with nasal sounds at the end of a word. Students of Portuguese in general, commonly pronounce nasal consonants in word final position because of an influence they have from Spanish or other languages. For example

3. [si^{n}] or
   [sĩ^{n}] Spn *sin*, Eng "without"

may be compared to Brazilian Portuguese

4. [sĩ] Prt *sim*, Eng "yes."

The existence of nasal vowels as phonemes of Portuguese has been a topic of debate in the development of Portuguese linguistics (Head, 1964; Parkinson, 1988) and this has confused instructors of Portuguese as to how to approach the teaching of these vowels. Early in this century in Portugal, Gonçalves Viana had adopted the position that the so-called nasal vowels are oral vowels followed by some sort of nasal consonant (in Mattoso Câmara Jr., 1977, 67ff). In Brazil, Mattoso Câmara Jr. (1970) adopted the same position and used Trubetzkoy's (1939) notion of an archiphoneme to describe the nasal vowels in Portuguese. An archiphoneme can be defined as the intersection of two phonemes in some environments. By positing two phonemes, one can assume that there are distinctive features, which disappear in some situations. For some linguists, as mentioned above, the three nasal consonants /m, n, ɲ/ are normally distinctive sounds in Portuguese, but they intersect in syllable final position. Other linguists, especially in Brazil and in the U.S., argue in favor of a five nasal vowel sub-system (Head, 1964). In Spanish there is general agreement for a Spanish nasal archiphoneme (Quilis y Fernández). For classroom purposes, the present paper assumes the descriptions of the vowel system proposed in Head (1964) and compares it with the standard description of Spanish:

5. BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE

Oral vowels		Nasal vowels	
i	u	ĩ	ũ
e	o	ẽ	õ
ɛ	ɔ	-	-
a		ã	

SPANISH

Oral vowels		Nasal vowels	
i	u	-	-
e	o	-	-
-	-	-	-
a		-	

In terms of linguistics applied to the teaching of language, there is no reason to consider a nasal consonant of some sort nor an archiphoneme of nasality in Brazilian Portuguese because of the excessive abstraction such a view will bring. There are cases in BP, however, where this notion can be useful. Phonemes such as fortis /r/ and the alveolar fricative /s/ are more clearly neutralized in syllable final position and such a neutralization can be efficiently explored in teaching BP, through the use of the notion of an archiphoneme . In other words, /s/ and /r/ have a number of free

variants in syllable final position that are sometimes dependent on the speaker, on the region where BP is spoken or even different registers. This possibility has been explored elsewhere (Ellison et al, 1971).

Regarding classroom application, learners will feel more comfortable if they are exposed to a set of twelve vowels in Portuguese (seven oral vowels and five nasal vowels) instead of a set of only seven vowels plus the unnecessary and non-motivated complexities, as discussed earlier, of the concept of an archiphoneme. Using a set of twelve vowels, the next step is the development of appropriate drills for the five nasal vowels of BP. These drills, as discussed in the introduction, may contain mechanical drills, communicative competence drills or a combination. The teacher decides what makes both him/her and the learner feel comfortable. An illustration of how drills may be explored for the specific case of the nasal vowels is presented as follows:

(a) awareness of the sounds studied;
(b) drills on perceptual identification;
(c) production of the sounds studied from smaller units to larger ones;
(d) reinforcement of drills on perceptual identification;
(e) use of the language at the discourse level whenever applicable.

The following section includes suggestions on the practical application of these elements.

Application

A careful planning of a class design using the format below will take a total of thirty to forty minutes in the whole semester. Afterwards the student supposedly feels comfortable with the production of these vowels and, on her/his own, s/he will realize what is needed during lab work or classroom interaction. Of course, a teacher may decide later in the semester to recycle this or any other drill and use it again.

Notice that the drills below also include diphthongs which, for our purposes, can be included in the simple vowel class.

1. Awareness. One of the ways to show the student what nasals are is to bring them the visual configuration of these vowels as depicted in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Vocal tract configuration of two pronunciations of the written "-m" at the end of the word "bem."

Figure 1A: The "m" in the word *sim* pronounced INAPPROPRIATELY.

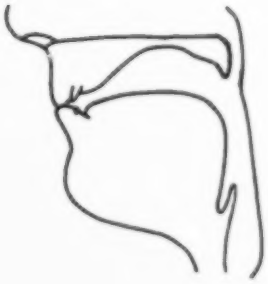
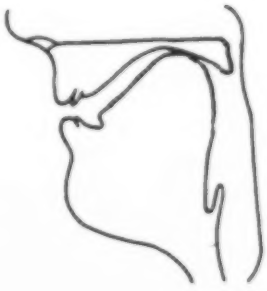


Figure 1B: The appropriate lip position for the letter "m" in the pronunciation of the word *sim*.



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2. Auditory identification. The following is one of the listening exercises that can be prepared for auditory identification.

   IDENTIFICATION. Your instructor will read only one of the words in each pair of words below. Underline the ones you hear (the instructor may at first use these tokens without showing them to the student in written form).

   sim, si, lá, lã, são, sal, pão, pau, mundo, mudo, cão, cal, campeão, capiau.

3. Production and understanding. An exercise to move from small units into larger ones.

   PRONUNCIATION. Repeat the words below after your instructor. *chegam, falam, bebem, trazem, abrem, saem, vim, assim.*

   FOLLOW-UP. Transcribe phonetically the preceding words. Answers should be:

   [*'ʂegãw*], [*'falãw*], [*'bębẽy*], [*'trazẽy*], [*'abrẽy*], [*'saẽy*], [*vĩy*], [*a'sĩy*].

   PRONUNCIATION. Read aloud the passage below by Carlos Drummond de Andrade.

   "... mundo, mundo, vasto mundo,
   se eu me chamasse Raimundo,
   seria uma rima.
   Não seria uma solução.
   Mundo mundo vasto mundo,
   Mais vasto é meu coração."

   PRONUNCIATION. First, listen to the song "Uns" by Caetano Veloso, then read the song aloud (partially reproduced here). If time allows, sing along as the song is played.

Uns vão	*uns só coração*
uns tão	*uns amam*
uns são	*uns avançam*
uns dão	*uns também*
uns não	*uns cem*
uns hão de	*uns sem*
uns pés	*uns vêm*
uns mãos	*uns têm*
uns cabeça	*uns nada têm* etc.

4. Reinforcing auditory identification. The auditory exercise below is one that can be prepared during this step.

IDENTIFICATION. Your instructor will read only one of the words in each pair of words below. Underline the ones you hear.

sim, si, lá, lã, são, sal, pão, pau, mundo, mudo, cão, cal, campeão, capiau.

5. Discourse level. First, the instructor acts out an interaction with a student attempting to elicit answers that require verbs in the third person plural. Then, students interact among themselves. The instructor needs to give instructions that will hopefully force them to produce sentences containing "-m" endings. Here the instructor may need to interfere at times to ensure that expected forms are produced. For example,

COMPREHENSION AND PRODUCTION DRILLS. Ask your classmate questions about the "Globetrotters."

Modelo: Você conhece os "Globetrotters"? or Vocês *conhecem* ...
Sim, conheço.
O que eles *fazem* ?
Eles *jogam* basquete.

From this point, any class activity may be used and the teacher will pay attention to persistent mistakes and decide whether s/he needs to point them out to students.

Conclusion

The nasal vowels of Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese have been compared, specfically for a target audience of teachers concerned with teaching Portuguese to Spanish-familiar students. Following preliminary conside-rations of Brazilian Portuguese and Spanish nasal vowels in terms of historical and theoretical description, class activities of thirty to forty minutes have been suggested so that interested teachers may build different class plans from that point of departure.

In the presentation of these teaching techniques a combination of structural and communicative competence approaches has been used since it has been concluded that a single

trend does not necessarily need to be espoused. This becomes particularly evident in the case of Spanish-familiar students of Portuguese.

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Evaluating Portuguese Performance of Spanish-Speaking Students

JOHN B. JENSEN
Florida International University

We who teach Portuguese are just as excited about teaching for proficiency and then measuring that proficiency as are our colleagues in the more commonly taught languages. However, we are faced with a situation that simply does not hold for those teaching Spanish, German, or French: a majority of our students come to us in possession of a language system that is partially compatible with Portuguese. They know Spanish, either natively or as a second language. This knowledge often enables them to demonstrate an impressive degree of "proficiency" with no instruction whatsoever. How does this Spanish proficiency affect our design of Portuguese test instruments and the evaluation of their results?

To Adapt or Not to Adapt?

The evaluation of Spanish-Speaking Students of Portuguese (SPs) in general may take one of two basic approaches. The first is to use standard FL testing practices with no change or adaptation for their special needs. The other is to adopt procedures especially suited to the situation of the SP.

Non-adaptation means treating SPs like all other students, applying to them identical processes of evaluation and rating their performance on the same scales. This approach offers several advantages:

(1) It does not require segregation of students nor determination of their status as SPs or not (there may be many borderline cases);

(2) It does not require knowledge of a third language (Spanish) on the part of the test designer, nor any consideration of its structure and vocabulary in developing test items;

(3) It fully recognizes Portuguese as an independent entity and not as somehow subordinate or adjunct to another "more common" foreign language--an important psychological consideration;

(4) It gives students free rein to capitalize on their knowledge of Spanish to help deal with Portuguese, as would

happen in a natural communicative setting. They will be downgraded only where their Spanish-Influenced Portuguese (SIP) happens to be inadequate to meet the test criteria.

While these advantages may seem quite attractive, there are a number of problems. Consider these possible disadvantages to using non-adaptive test procedures:

(1) Non-adaptation may skew test results, giving undue credit to students who have not learned much more than they already knew before studying Portuguese and failing to distinguish between good and not-so-good students, programs, texts, instructors, etc.;

(2) It may encourage fossilization of incorrect (Spanish-based) forms, the same argument sometimes raised against the "no-correction" school of teaching methodology;

(3) It may fail to take into account social and pragmatic effects of the use of SIP. With non-adaptive tests, we may not have the tools to judge the effect of the intrusion of exotic third-language elements.

The opposite approach, the use of testing procedures specially prepared for the SP, presents essentially an inversion of the advantages and disadvantages listed above. What is an advantage in the use of non-adaptive tests becomes a possible liability in using adaptive tests. Likewise, disadvantages of non-adaptive tests become potential advantages of adaptive tests.

Achievement Tests

In considering tests intended to measure specific learning of a course syllabus, achievement tests, careful adaptation to the needs of the SP seems appropriate. With specially prepared achievement tests we avoid seeing the SP "slide through" a course on his knowledge of Spanish. We discourage fossilization of SIP, and we can endeavor to teach (and test) the sociolinguistic and pragmatic aspects of language use with specific references to differences between Spanish and Portuguese communication styles. Adaptation may require that the non-Spanish-speaking instructor become familiar with common intrusions of Spanish elements into Portuguese performance, but experience can provide this familiarization.

The process of adaptation of achievement tests, especially of the traditional discrete-point type, is relatively simple: vocabulary items are selected that do not exist in Spanish (e.g., <u>abacaxi</u>

"pineapple", morango "strawberry") or which are "false cognates" (rato, "rat", xingar, "swear"); grammar items are emphasized that offer some particular difficulty to the SP, (eu gosto de "I like", quando você vier "when you come"). Emphasis in listening comprehension and reading tests is on reception of Portuguese that may exhibit significant divergences from Spanish.

More modern forms of evaluation, such as graded oral activities, can also focus on eliciting non-Spanish-compatible items, but it is probably more natural for the instructor to establish early in the course an explicit standard for conducting and evaluating communicative activities, rather than constantly trying to force activities away from Spanish-like items. This could mean, for example, refusing to "understand" or accept Spanish words from a list of common items distributed in advance, or subtracting a point for every occurrence of pero "but" or yo "I", or having students deposit a penny in a refreshment jar for every me gusta "I like". To refuse outright to accept any non-Portuguese Spanish word or structure in a communicative activity or its evaluation would be to crimp terribly a student's creativity, the educated guessing that is so much part of the communicative performance of any Spanish speaker learning Portuguese.

Proficiency Tests

Examinations that are not tied to measuring course achievement, but rather purport to take an objective measure of language ability, may require some special consideration in regard to their adaptation or non-adaptation to the needs of SPs.

An appropriate place to begin is to consider the largely task-oriented ACTFL/ETS Guidelines. Let us look, for example, at the Generic Guidelines for the Intermediate-Low speaking level:

> Able to handle successfully a limited number of interactive, task-oriented and social situations. Can ask and answer questions, initiate and respond to simple statements, and maintain face-to-face conversation, although in a highly restricted manner and with much linguistic inaccuracy. Within these limitations, can perform such tasks as introducing self, ordering a meal, asking directions, and making purchases. Vocabulary is adequate to express only the most elementary needs. Strong interference from native language may occur.

> Misunderstandings frequently arise, but with repetition, the Intermediate-Low speaker can generally be understood by sympathetic interlocutors (ACTFL, 1987:16).

This set of statements, I dare say, is a rather fitting description of the Portuguese proficiency of most of my beginning Spanish-speaking students after about a week in class, long enough to learn the numbers and some basic expressions of social interaction. Were they given the OPI and had it been graded in strict adherence to the specified tasks, they would rate as Intermediate-Low speakers, skipping the novice levels. And it would not take many weeks of additional study for most students to achieve Intermediate-Mid. By the end of the semester, virtually all would rate at Intermediate-High.

The keys to this "success," of course, are the terms "much linguistic inaccuracy," "strong interference from native language," and "understood by sympathetic interlocutors." My SPs would be speaking primarily Spanish, and yet would successfully communicate by these criteria, as do the thousands of non-Portuguese-speaking natives of Spanish who successfully visit Brazil every year, introducing themselves, ordering meals, making purchases, and asking directions. It is not even hard for them to find appropriate "sympathetic interlocutors" to help out.

The "Relative Contribution Model" of proficiency proposed by Higgs and Clifford (1982; see also Lowe, 1985:23) suggests that at the lowest levels, the most significant contribution to proficiency is made by vocabulary, constituting some fifty percent of proficiency at ILR Level 1. Considering the very high proportion of common vocabulary between Spanish and Portuguese, it is easy to see why SPs may never qualify as "novices."

In a study of mutual comprehensibility of Spanish and Portuguese (Jensen, 1986), it was found that monolingual Brazilians show about a sixty percent comprehension rate of spoken Spanish and that monolingual Spanish Americans have about a forty percent comprehension rate of Portuguese. Such figures for totally untutored listeners help predict high success in communication, even if each interlocutor were to speak exclusively his own language.

Is this what we want? Is this an acceptable evaluation of proficiency for us? Is it a problem for us as members of the profession for our SPs to be able to "pass" the ACTFL/ETS

Proficiency Examination with relatively little study or experience with the language?

If it is a problem for us, we seem to have at least three alternatives:

(a) Modify the ACTFL/ETS grading standards (i.e., "tighten" them up) for the Portuguese examination so that it serves as a filter to exclude the ill-prepared SP;

(b) Rethink the "problem" we have about SPs' passing the ACTFL/ETS Proficiency examination, and consider accepting such evaluation at face value; or

(c) Take a new approach to proficiency testing altogether.

Modifying the Guidelines

Let us first consider the possibility "tightening up" the *ACTFL/ETS Guidelines*. For this, we must see what is meant by "proficiency." The concept has engendered an enormous amount of verbiage in recent years. There seem to be two approaches. One is what I shall call "global"--overall performance definitions. The other I call "specific," detailing the components of proficiency. If we look at some of the "specific" definitions, we see that we need not search very far to find a more restrictive definition of proficiency than that which is explicitly manifest in the *Guidelines*. It has often been stated (e.g., Higgs, 1984: Foreword; Savignon, 1983:131) that the ACTFL/ETS Proficiency measure includes the components of accuracy (grammar, vocabulary, comprehension, fluency, and accent), content, and function.

In what is by now a "classic" definition of proficiency, Canale and Swain (1979) proposed that it consists of four components: grammatical competence, sociolinguistic competence, discourse competence, and strategic competence.

These various specific competencies are not rated explicitly by the ACTFL/ETS Examination: rather they contribute in a sort of gestalt fashion to the final rating (see Liskin-Gasparro, 1982:127 for a discussion of the "holistic" rating, a concept seldom mentioned, but implicitly an important factor in proficiency testing). Higgs and Clifford (1982) attempted to determine relative weights of the factors by asking testers' opinions. In a recent paper Magnan (1988) uses an error count of actual OPI interviews, correlated with ratings given, to determine the importance of grammatical accuracy in the rating. While she found a general correlation between grammar

errors and proficiency rating, it was far from perfect: the grammar low point was at the Intermediate-Low level.

The most obvious way to "tighten up" the tests to filter out candidates who would pass using Spanish, would be to incorporate explicitly some of the widely-recognized criteria as minimum standards. If, for example, a given degree of "accuracy" were required to validate a given level of communication, students would not be found proficient in the language under test (Portuguese) even though they were highly communicative in an exotic language system (Spanish) that happens to be communicatively compatible with Portuguese. It would seem theoretically plausible, then, to set floor levels for accuracy that would serve as minimum criteria for passing at each level, and then grade tests specifically for those features, not "holistically." For example, in the Intermediate-Low Guidelines, one could replace the words "with much linguistic inaccuracy" by "accuracy no lower than x in pronunciation, y in fluency..."

Even assuming that it were possible to establish such minima, and this presumes a constant linear learning process (now seriously questioned by most researchers), there are still a couple of major caveats to this approach. One of these is practical in nature: we would be modifying a standard originally designed for speakers who do not have available a communicatively-compatible language to meet the needs of those who do. So what happens to English-speaking students who study Portuguese without knowing Spanish? If they are held to standards developed specifically for Spanish speakers, they will find it harder to qualify in Portuguese than in another language, even given the same level of performance. And what about the differences between students for whom Spanish is L1 and those for whom it is a second language?

The other caveat is more philosophical. The Guidelines are already under considerable criticism from many quarters and for many supposed deficiencies. Lantoff and Frawley (1986, 1988), for example, assert, among other things, that the ACTFL/ETS Proficiency Examination pidgeon-holes the individual, being a "criterion-reductive norm-referenced" test in a closed system that fails to take full account of individual speakers (1988:181). To add further restriction on the acceptable means of achieving the aim of the proficiency program--successful communication--would be to move even further away from a real-life real-communicative-act

setting, to something even more contrived (see also Bachman & Savignon, 1986:188).

Defenders of the ACTFL/ETS Guidelines, such as Heidi Byrnes, are eager to assure their critics that accuracy assessments are not central to determining proficiency ratings:

> It has always been part and parcel of the living tradition in oral proficiency testing that communication can, and indeed does, take place in numerous ways and in no way requires full command of the L2 grammatical system... (Byrnes, 1987:111).

Thus, a move toward increasing restriction of the Guidelines ("tightening up" the tests, as I call the process) would run counter to both the ACTFL/EST proponents and their critics, and perhaps produce an indefensible situation in which Portuguese standards are decidedly different from those for other languages, and would imply a level of discrimination among proficiency candidates at some level. Moreover, as stated above, the mechanics of specifying detailed accuracy minima boggle the mind in view of today's understanding of the nature of language acquisition.

"Rethinking" the Problem: Accepting ACTFL/ETS Results at Face Value

If we see a problem in "poorly prepared" SPs being found proficient while essentially speaking Spanish, and if "tightening" the test is not feasible, we should asssess the "problem." We have to go back and ask ourselves: does holding a successful conversation with a Brazilian while speaking close to the Spanish end of a Spanish-Portuguese interlanguage continuum count as "proficiency?" Should it?

Returning to the definition of proficiency, a common "global" view holds that it consists of the successful exchange of messages. "The goal of language teaching is to enable students to take part in the 'normal give-and-take of target language conversation'" (Lowe, 1983:238). Schulz (1986:374) cites the commonly held "pragmatic definition" as "the ability to send and comprehend appropriate messages in different real life situations." Some other similar definitions are: "Their ability to function effectively in the language in real-life contexts" (Byrnes 1984:197; also cited by Kramsch 1986:366); "The extent to which the individual is capable of utilizing his language knowledge of and

facility in the language to accomplish some desired receptive or communicative purpose" (Clark, 1978:23).

In view of these pragmatic functional notions of proficiency based on successful communication, I am suggesting that one possible approach to the enigma of evaluation of SPs is to deliver them to the ACTFL/ETS testers, Spanish competence in hand, and see what they can do in the test situation with no special adaptation, then accept the results at face value.

I have often observed that relatively naïve Brazilian instructors of Portuguese in this country tend to be more tolerant of SIP than are Americans or more highly experienced Brazilians. I have occasionally found it a source of some frustration that these native Brazilians could not or would not work to eradicate the Spanish from their students and, indeed, didn't even seem to recognize it. Just last summer, in a pinch, I arranged for a Ph.D. candidate in music to take on a section of beginning Portuguese. After a week of class she came to me enthralled with the excellent way her beginners were already talking, incredulous that they could learn so fast!

Maybe these naïve Brazilians are telling us something if we will listen: usable "proficiency" is easily demonstrated by SPs on a task-oriented performance scale, such as that represented by the ACTFL/ETS Guidelines. This proficiency perhaps ought to be recognized with appropriate ratings of communicative competence, as defined by ACTFL/ETS. Our naïve SPs, do, after all, have a real communicative ability in Portuguese far beyond that typical of beginning American students of French or Spanish, with whom they would be compared with ACTFL/ETS ratings.

Numerous problems arise, of course, in interpreting these ratings. Even if we accept them, we must realize that they represent successful performance in a narrowly-defined instrument and a rather artificial setting. One of these potentially serious problems relates to the possible use of proficiency tests as measures of achievement or of preparation for teaching. In some states, school systems and universities there is a strong movement afoot to institutionalize the ACTFL/ETS tests for teacher certification assessment, satisfaction of a language requirement, or even course grades (see Frawley & Lantoff, 1987:183-184). The Portuguese situation clearly precludes this use, given the present Guidelines. How do we meet or resist this pressure?

While the specter of candidates for Portuguese proficiency passing the ACTFL/ETS test without having learned the language may be offensive to us, we must recognize that under present guidelines, literally applied, they will probably pass. Moreover, there may well be certain validity to such passing if we will accept the constraints inherent in the ACTFL/ETS definition of proficiency. But do such students really possess the communications skills that we would consider essential for real functional ability? To answer that question we must enter the turbid waters of the definition of Portuguese-language proficiency, which in turn involves extensive research designed for our situation.

Something New

Such research effort is precisely what is needed if we are to consider the third alternative to the quandary mentioned at the outset: the development of new approaches to proficiency testing different from those adopted by ACTFL/ETS.

To meet our professional needs, such a new approach would have to be applicable equally to both Spanish-speaking and non-Spanish-speaking Portuguese students. It would reward the former for their communicative potential as well as their actual mastery of Portuguese, but also serve as a filter to downrate the SP who had only straight Spanish ability, who had made little or no progress toward developing genuine Portuguese command.

Such a test would have to emulate much more closely than the ACTFL/ETS the reality of actual speaking situations. For one thing, it could include a number of communicative tasks that are identified with native-like proficiency, (or with those well on the way to such proficiency) but which would be difficult for the SP with virtually no Portuguese. Such tasks may include, for example: overhearing third-party conversations; dealing with non-standard varieties; talking on the telephone; listening to recorded or broadcast speech with degraded sound quality, etc. It would also call upon examinees to deal with sociolinguistic and pragmatic tasks, such as manipulating forms of address, "reading between the lines" to see the real or hidden messages of discourse, and making requests and commands in socially appropriate ways.

It is interesting that for all of these functions, the SP may find himself in a peculiar situation in a Portuguese-speaking environment. Because of his apparently advanced ability to send

and receive messages, the SP may often be assumed by the native Portuguese-speaking interlocutor to be equally advanced in these kinds of more subtle linguistic chores. Therefore, the SP may find that he has considerably less social leeway to make linguistic or pragmatic mistakes than has a colleague who is obviously coming at Portuguese without a Spanish background. The former may be forgiven much less often than the latter for failing to comprehend the gentle hints thrown his way or mistaking the meaning of a telephone message, or for calling the mayor or bishop você upon first meeting. Research needs to be done to determine how these kinds of tasks can be included in a test that is at the same time fair to all comers, reliable, and administratively feasible. How can such activities be included to some extent at novice and intermediate levels, as well as advanced? What sort of ordering or grading ought there be?

Another area of necessary research in developing a new proficiency instrument for Portuguese is to take a look at possible psychological effects of SIP on the communicative situation. What language attitudes do Brazilians harbor toward Spanish speakers that might help or hinder communication in strongly Spanish-influenced Portuguese? Do we know, as is often purported, that Spanish (and therefore, SIP) is irritating to native speakers of Portuguese? Again, to judge from our naïve Brazilian instructors, it would appear that we exaggerate the negative effects of Spanish on Brazilians as we try in the classroom to convince our students not to use it. Any test designed to penalize the use of Spanish must be based on research on the judgment given Spanish-based errors by Brazilians (called "gravity ratings" in the parlance). Is it a negative communicative/psychological factor to speak Portuguese with the Spanish sound system? Is it negative to use Spanish-American sociolinguistic and pragmatic norms with Brazilians? Does it provoke a negative reaction in Brazilians to hear understandable Spanish words mixed with Portuguese? Only those factors found to be counter-productive in the communication act should be downrated in any OPI.

A new type of instrument, in conclusion, must be sensitive to the kinds of communication that we really seek to develop in our students. It would also be sensitive to the communicatively significant intrusions of Spanish linguistic and pragmatic norms. A detailed description of such a test must be an early agenda item for such organizations as the Portuguese Language Development Group. I would add only that we in Portuguese, finding ourselves

with a serious need to develop a new kind of language proficiency instrument for our specific situation, also have a special opportunity to address the general concerns of a significant part of the language-teaching profession unconvinced that the ACTFL/ETS Guidelines constitute the wisest course to follow.

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APPENDIX

A química da união duradoura
Os casais dizem por que se mantêm juntos

Um trabalho conduzido pelo casal de psicólogos americanos Robert e Jeanette Lauer, da United States International University, de San Diego, na Califórnia, preencheu uma lacuna na pesquisa sobre o casamento. Em vez de se dedicarem ao tema mais atraente nesse campo investigativo, as separações, Jeanette e Robert decidiram tentar explicar por que os casamentos duram. "Visamos a elucidar qual a química emocional capaz de manter juntas duas pessoas ao longo de toda uma existência", explica Jeanette, que publicou os resultados da pesquisa na revista *Psychology Today* . A dupla entrevistou 351 casais americanos casados há mais de quinze anos. Jeanette e Robert pediram aos casados casais que citassem as razões que melhor explicavam o fato de estarem juntos há tanto tempo. A seguir, as respostas de homens e mulheres pela ordem das mais citadas para as menos citadas.

Mulheres

1. Meu marido é meu melhor amigo
2. Gosto do meu marido como pessoa
3. O casamento é um compromisso de longo prazo
4. O casamento é sagrado
5. Temos objetivos comuns na vida
6. Meu marido está cada dia mais interessante
7. Eu desejo e luto para que nosso relacionamento seja bem sucedido
8. Rimos muito juntos
9. Temos a mesma filosofia de vida
10. Concordamos quanto a como e com que freqüência fazer demonstrações de carinho
11. Um casamento duradouro é importante para a estabilidade social
12. Mantemos uma estimulante troca de idéias
13. Conseguimos discutir sempre sem perder a calma
14. Estamos satisfeitos com nossa vida sexual
15. Sinto orgulho do meu marido como profissional e como homem

Homens

1. Minha esposa é minha melhor amiga
2. Gosto da minha esposa como pessoa
3. O casamento é um compromisso de longo prazo
4. O casamento é sagrado
5. Temos objetivos comuns na vida
6. Minha mulher está cada dia mais interessante
7. Eu desejo e luto para que nosso relacionamento seja bem sucedido
8. Um casamento duradouro é importante para a estabilidade social
9. Rimos muito juntos
10. Tenho orgulho de minha esposa como profissional e como mulher
11. Temos a mesma filosofia de vida
12. Estamos satisfeitos com nossa vida sexual
13. Concordamos quanto a como e com que freqüência demonstrar carinho
14. Confio em minha mulher
15. Compartilhamos os mesmos hobbies e interesses fora do casamento